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THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

POLICY REVIEW

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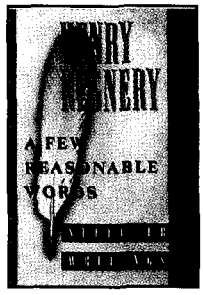

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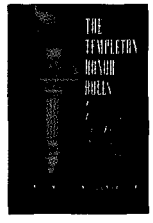

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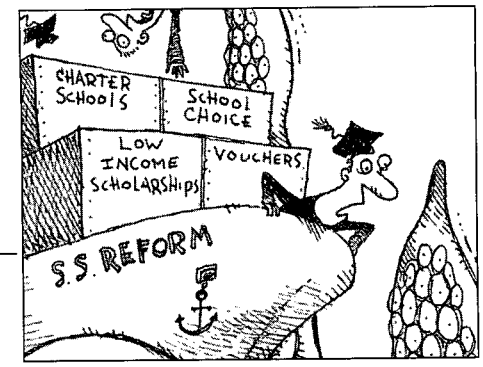

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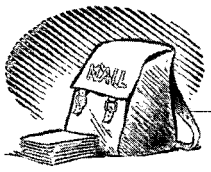

Correspondence

Quota Czars

To the Editor:

Jessica Gavora's article "The Quota Czars" (May-June 1997) accuses the American Civil Liberties Union of "betraying its historic commitment to individual liberties" by supporting affirmative action. She is particularly critical of our leading role in the ongoing litigation against California's Proposition 209 (the California Civil Rights Initiative), and charges that the organization's "embrace of racial preferences reveals the triumph of politics over constitutional principle."

On behalf of the ACLU, I plead not guilty to all of the above charges. There has been no betrayal. The organization's docket of several thousand cases covers the entire gamut of civil liberties issues, including free speech, religious liberty, due process, privacy, and equality. We remain as committed as ever to enforcing all fundamental rights, regardless of the unpopularity of the client or the cause.

I do, however, plead guilty to supporting affirmative action as a temporary legal remedy for discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or gender. Contrary to Gavora's claim that I have published nothing on this subject, my support of affirmative action has been steadfast in both action and word. (See, for example, "Blaming the Victim: A Critique of Attacks on Affirmative Actions," an article I authored several years ago in the *Cornell Law Review*.)

Unlike Gavora and the handful of disgruntled ACLU members and former members whom she quotes, I see no inconsistency between individual liberties and affirmative action. The values of liberty and those of equality—which affirmative action seeks to realize—are both constitutionally guaranteed and inextricably intertwined. Demands for equal opportunity and equal treatment by minorities and women are simply demands for access to the "blessings of liberty" the white male majority takes for granted.

Gavora argues that minorities and women have already achieved equality of opportunity, and that if equal opportunity has failed to yield equal results, it isn't because of discrimination. Her unstated but implicit assumption is that if minorities and women have not yet gained a firm foothold in mainstream society, it must be because of their own individual shortcomings.

Affirmative action, therefore, is not only not needed; worse yet, Gavora implies, it rewards undeserving minorities and women at the expense of deserving white men.

But the evidence proves otherwise. While it is true that a great deal of progress has been made since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other civil-rights laws were passed, it is also true that these laws were not self-executing. They could not, by themselves, change centuries of discriminatory habits, customs, and attitudes. As a result, many avenues of opportunity have remained narrow and constricted, available only to the relative few. Today, the hopes and dreams of millions of Americans are still stifled, not because of their individual failings, but solely because of their skin color. That is why I, along with other ACLU leaders, believe that the most pervasive, overarching civil-liberties problem in this country is race discrimination.

I see no inconsistency between individual liberties and affirmative action.
—Nadine Strossen

According to the National Opinion Research Center, a majority of white Americans still believe that blacks and Hispanics are less intelligent, less hard-working, and less patriotic than whites. It would be naive to think these negative stereotypes do not influence the decisions made by employers and school administrators (the vast majority of whom are white) every hour of every day all over the country, translating into millions of lost opportunities. We are still generations away from the color-blind merit system that Gavora and other critics of affirmative action like to think we already have.

Few would disagree with the maxim that a good education is the best path to a better, more economically secure life. But in this country, government spending on public education is clearly linked to race. Schools serving mostly minority, inner-city children receive half as much money per student as schools in the surrounding white suburbs. This unequal distribution of public resources based on skin color denies both equality of opportunity and equality of results.

The ACLU, along with most of the American public, acknowledges the tragic fact that racial inequality persists. The question then becomes: What can be done about it? Affirmative action is one of the answers.

Affirmative action is not a quota system. The goals and timetables found in affirmative action plans are not the same as quotas. They are a nondiscriminatory means of ensuring that those who were previously excluded are finally included, and a means of measuring whether discrimination has been reduced.

Nor is affirmative action about racial or gender preferences that force employers to hire unqualified minorities and women over qualified men. No company or educational institution may be compelled to hire or admit an individual who does not possess the necessary qualifications. Contrary to what its detractors claim, affirmative action has proven itself to be one of the fairest, most effective tools we have for ending discrimination.

Gavora makes too much of the fact that wording in Prop 209 mirrors the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Calling something a civil-rights law does not make it one. Through their Orwellian use of language, the initiative's sponsors sought to camouflage their true intention: to return California, and ultimately the rest of the nation, to a status quo ante in which quotas are once again used to exclude qualified but unpopular or politically powerless minorities from the country's political, economic, and social institutions.

Early indications are that they are succeeding. Since the University of California system has been barred from using affirmative action, there has been an 81 percent drop in black students admitted to U.C.-Berkeley's law school. And UCLA's law school reports

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similar declines. Can this truly be the result that the majority of California's voters were seeking?

In supporting affirmative action, the ACLU remains true to its ideals and its mission. I am proud of our efforts to protect the civil rights of all victims of discrimination.

Nadine Strossen
President
American Civil Liberties Union
New York, N.Y.

Jessica Gavora responds: Part of my motivation for writing "The Quota Czars" was to smoke out Nadine Strossen's views on racial and gender preferences. Now that I have succeeded, however, I must admit to a certain disappointment. Strossen has taken bold, politically incorrect stands in the past, challenging feminists on the issue of pornography, for instance. Several of the critics of racial and gender preferences with whom I spoke in the course of writing my article, moreover, suggested that she might share their disapproval of counting by race and gender.

The discussion has moved beyond the hackneyed bits of misinformation Strossen employs.
—Jessica Gavora

Alas, Strossen offers the same tired, discredited defense of affirmative action, one that was rejected by 54 percent of California voters—including absolute majorities of women and Asian Americans—in approving the California Civil Rights Initiative last year. Affirmative action is merely a "temporary" corrective, she insists, and not a "quota system" that discriminates against more qualified white males in favor of less qualified minorities. Hopeful signs are few and far between in the affirmative-action debate, but one surely is this: The discussion has moved beyond the hackneyed bits of misinformation Strossen employs to defend race and gender preferences.

Strossen hauls out the latest bogeyman of race and gender bean counters, namely that minorities are being frozen out of educational institutions that have eliminated affirmative action in admissions. In so doing, she undermines her own argument that affirmative action is not synonymous with quotas. I can think of no greater evidence that a quota system favoring blacks and Hispanics was extant at U.C.-Berkeley's law school than the fact that the admission of black students fell 81 percent after the university's board of regents ended race and gender preferences there. What Strossen fails to mention is that these heavily recruited minority students are finding opportunities at other law schools outside the University of California system.

To the central contention of my piece, that the ACLU has rejected its historical commitment to individual liberties in defending group preferences under the guise of affirmative action, Strossen can say only that she sees no "inconsistency" here. Coming from one of the nation's foremost civil libertarians, this is a sad statement. Cheryl Hopwood, Danny O'Connor, Randy Pech, and Sharon Taxman—all victims of state-sponsored discrimination in the name of affirmative action—were not judged as individuals by the system that injured them, but as members of groups. Had their cases involved violations of their freedoms of speech or assembly, Strossen and the ACLU would have been the first to rise to defend them, not as white males and females but as individuals with civil rights.

To the Editor:

In "The Quota Czars," Jessica Gavora describes an ACLU that has recently—sometime since the 1960s—abandoned its commitment to individual rights for the sake of equal group outcomes. I suggest that the ACLU's betrayal came much earlier, if indeed it can be said that the ACLU ever made individual rights a priority. The battle against Proposition 209 is not the first time the ACLU has come out in favor of racial proportionalism. In the 1950 Supreme Court case of *Hughes v. Superior Court*, the ACLU filed a brief on behalf of the Progressive Citizens of America, a group picketing store owners in the San Francisco Bay Area to compel them to hire by racial quotas. Although the ACLU noted its disapproval of quotas as an object of picketing, it felt compelled to defend picketing for any purpose. It should come as no surprise that an organization that regularly defends the group rights of labor unions to coerce individual employers for the sake of economic equality would someday come to embrace racial quotas as a means toward that same end.

Paul Moreno
Assistant Professor of History
St. Thomas Aquinas College
Sparkill, N.Y.

The Pursuit of Unhappiness

To the Editor:

As Adam Meyerson points out in "The Pursuit of Unhappiness" (July–Aug. 1997), conservatives have taken over the machinery of state, but find its controls awkward to handle. The energetic engineers they have replaced had so loved to read its gauges, to pull its levers, tinker here, polish there, and talk shop about how it might, some wonderful tomorrow, actually achieve anything that can be dreamt. But now conservatives, having finally won their turn at the controls, can take no happiness from this instrument that had given joys sublime to their predecessors.

Thank God they cannot. Citizens have not transferred power to conservatives so that they may wield it as it had been wielded by those from whom they had chosen to take it away. The extraordinary transformation marked by the congressional elections of 1994 ought to be viewed in the context of the Velvet Revolution abroad that preceded it. Both were the conscious actions of citizens against the will of their elites; both rejected, at long last, the prevailing bad idea of the 20th century, rudely put, that "Government R Us."

But this decision was not so much ideological as it was prudential. We conservatives had pitched our tents on the perimeter, calling out warnings as generation after generation marched past us. What we said was right, but it was not until the pile of bones at the gates of Utopia had risen to an unhideable mountain of evidence that our words were granted a hearing. And just as we are finally being listened to, the subject has suddenly changed from the question of what *not* to do to "What do we do now?"

For those of us who yearn to restore what was new about what Lincoln called "a new nation," the response to the American people ought to be: "See to your family, your neighbor, your community; your conscience will guide you

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more wisely than your government."

There are tasks for government and tasks for citizens. A competent government, restored to its proper role in human life, is much to be desired. It is as a house, a mere thing, perhaps, not nearly of such consequence as the people who inhabit it, but essential for their accommodation. And, as one renovates a house—by tearing out years of bad modifications to restore the sense and grace of heritage, while simultaneously upgrading all its functional elements with the best of the new—so might we restore our government to doing what it must do while reserving for our citizens the authority to do what only they can do, with and for one another, through the institutions of civil society.

Michael Joyce
President, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation
Milwaukee, Wis.

To the Editor:

Adam Meyerson's article reveals a lot of truth about conservative Republicans in the past three decades. I had almost forgotten how unhappy some of them were during the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

Meyerson is right, too, to criticize the hubris of many GOP congressional leaders. It's not just that they don't consult conservative activists or grass roots groups before they act—with the exception of a handful of pollsters, they don't seem to consult anyone but themselves.

Conversely, the conservative activists, and typical Republican Party members, don't do much to encourage consultation. Compared with left-wing activists, conservative Republicans—with the exception of the Christian Coalition and a few individuals—do exactly what Meyerson says they do: Zilch.

But I must dissent from Meyerson's argument that "conservatism today doesn't require national leaders with a dominating political presence or an eloquent media personality; what it needs more are movement-builders who will encourage and elicit leadership among the conservative movement and the American people."

I agree we need more, and better, movement-builders. But no national leader? I don't think we have a choice. As long as our Constitution provides for the election of a president of the United States, we are going to have a national leader whether we like it or not.

And it does make a difference who that president is. Bob Dole may not have been perfect, but he sure would have been a much better president than Clinton.

I'm just old-fashioned enough that, if given the choice, I'll take a conservative Republican as president and we'll work on the eloquent personality later.

Martin Anderson
The Hoover Institution
Stanford, Calif.

To the Editor:

Bravo on Adam Meyerson's editorial. Conservatives do indeed often let the perfect be the enemy of the good, or at least of the possible. I applaud your efforts to be positive, to help build the institutions of the future, to celebrate and stimulate the great wave of social entrepreneurship that will rebuild America. But let me offer a different shading on the past, and prognosis for our political future.

Conservatives have been building institutions, and quite successfully too. The Heritage Foundation is only one example, and a shining one at that, of the dramatically changed landscape since the 1970s—the proliferation of new magazines, the spontaneous community of talk radio, the development of NET Political Newstalk Network (and even, arguably, C-SPAN), the plethora of new public-policy organizations, advocacy groups, and public-interest law firms.

That these organizations have not been as successful as we might hope is often the product of any of several factors which will have to be overcome if these or any future institutions are to have greater resonance. These factors include a focus on facts and figures to the virtual exclusion of stories, emotion, and images; a not infrequent intellectual elitism that prefers wonkishness to working with the grass roots; a structure that relies on voluntary contributions; an unfamiliarity with coalition building; and a general lack of strategic coordination.

Meyerson compares the Left, which creates parades for their leaders, with the Right, which expects our politicians to create their own. This is not only because the Left views government and the influence thereof as a worthy career choice and affirmative source of change, while the Right tends to view it as a part-time obligation and largely intrusive nuisance to be held at bay. More importantly, the Left understands everything to be interrelated, and ultimately to be about power. The Right sees issues and institutions as discrete, and the fights to be about policy and principle. This gives the Left a dramatic advantage in cohesion.

I concur with Meyerson's call for bottom-up, decentralized leadership. Nonetheless, however unlikely, strong principled leadership is much to be desired. The alternative is a collection of poll-driven politicians who, unable to define the proper and limited scope of government, end up supporting variants of what the Left would do in any event—support, in fact, things "conservatives" would know to oppose were they not in power (rent control in New York, for example, or expanded spending and new entitlements in the federal budget). Movement leaders are critical. But government goes on, and a strong leadership is our best hope for controlling government's worst intrusions and encouraging its best possibilities.

A spirited commitment to institution-building is a central challenge for conservatives.
—Victor Porlier

Heather Higgins
Council on Culture and Community
New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Adam Meyerson correctly argues that a spirited commitment to institution-building is a central challenge for conservatives.

Funders must stop financing those who: pad their boards for image, not input; substitute crisis rhetoric for constructive results; constrict their essential activities to book discussions and idea exchanges within the same policy-wonk circles; avoid evaluations and accountability; and promote the "sizzle" over the steak. The prospect of conceptual trickle-down from such elite behavior neither justifies its cost nor merits serious allegiance.

Second, we must create hundreds

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of local advocacy groups, community-service organizations, and ministries; improve the scripting and the marketing of our messages and the delivery of our services; and develop measures for evaluation and accountability.

As General Patton might have said, "The war for liberty is a never-ending series of battles. War is hell. Leaders may disappoint. Quit bellyaching. Get your tail back on the firing line and advance."

Victor Porlier
Executive Director
Center for Civic Renewal
New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Adam Meyerson misfires when he calls on conservatives to build private and local institutions to outperform Big Government.

Government got big by persuading a lot of voters that it could, and indeed was obligated to, address the nation's "needs." A list of such "needs" was quickly drawn up and is still growing. Conservatives sharply question whether all these "needs" are as imperative as the liberals claim; whether government is the only or the best agency to address them; and indeed, whether (as Patrick Moynihan once recommended) some of them might not benefit more from a little "benign neglect."

That is not to say that conservative institutions don't have a tremendously important role to play in our national life. But that role is not to outperform Big Government. In major part, it is to convince the American people that Big Government is neither necessary nor desirable.

William A. Rusher
San Francisco, Calif.

Funding the Arts

To the Editor:

In his recent letter (July–Aug. 1997), Joel Conarroe of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation radically misrepresents my research on his organization. I did not claim in my *Foundation Watch* article that the Guggenheim Foundation had stopped giving grants to independent scholars, but that most of the funds reward tenured professors skilled at getting grants.

In 1995, for example, the Guggenheim Foundation awarded 145 fellowships to people living in the United States. Of these, 82 went to full professors, many of whom held endowed chairs. Another 26 went to associate professors, one to an assistant professor, two to senior lecturers, and two to fellows at university-affiliated think tanks. In addition, three Guggenheim Fellows were full-time artists in residence at universities. Thus 116 fellowships went to full-time academics. Also, two fellowships went to emeritus professors, while five went to instructors and adjunct professors. Many of the remaining fellowships were given to painters or performance artists who had served as visiting professors at one time. Of all the Guggenheim Fellows that year, only two, cultural critic Neil Gabler and former *New Republic* editor Ann Hulbert, were independent scholars whose previous books were widely reviewed.

I also question Conarroe's charge that I did inadequate research on the Guggenheim Foundation. I read all books on the foundation and the fellowships, including two privately published books that collected the papers of the foundation's first two administrators. I read all of the foundation's annual reports, beginning with 1939-40. I read every significant article about the foundation since its creation in 1925. My *Foundation Watch* article is the most extensive analysis of the Guggenheim Foundation since John H. Davis's book *The Guggenheims* (1978).

Martin Morse Wooster
Capital Research Center
Washington, D.C.

Correction: Due to an editing error, the eight sections of "Mugged By Reality" by Eugene H. Methvin (July-Aug. 1997) were misnumbered. The article is otherwise complete as published.

Letters to the Editor

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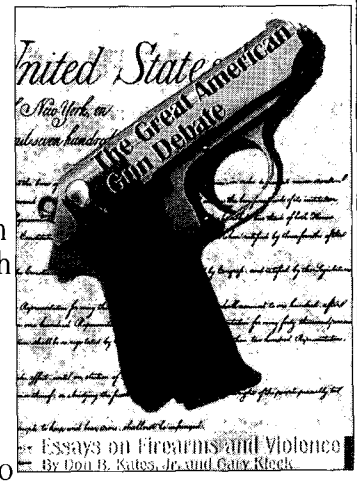
The Great American Gun Debate: Essays on Firearms and Violence
By Don Kates, Jr. and Gary Kleck



Gun ownership is regarded by elite opinion as a sign of backwardness and as the cause of many social maladies. Scholarly literature even identifies gun ownership as a prominent health hazard. In this book, two of the nation's leading authors on the issue of guns and violence sort out fact from fiction. Media myths about the destructive capacity of so-called "assault" weapons, the effects of "vigilantism" and guns as a useful tool for self-defense are subjected to close scrutiny. The lopsided conventional wisdom about guns, the authors conclude, actually does a disservice to rational public discussion about reasonable gun control measures. This book provides a calm, sober look at the facts behind the arguments. Available in October. *ISBN#0-936488-39-5, paperback $16.95*

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Breakfast for Champions

by Adam Meyerson

In cooperation with other conservative organizations, The Heritage Foundation holds monthly fundraisers for private civic groups that aid the needy more effectively than does the District of Columbia government. Our "Breakfast for Champions" series has so far raised more than $15,000 for six groups.

Our first event was for the **Washington Scholarship Fund**, a privately financed school-voucher program that enables 300 low-income children to flee dead-end D.C. public schools for the religious or secular private school of their choice. The money we raised will fund three half-tuition scholarships.

Breakfast for Champions financed five months of utilities for Hannah Hawkins's **Children of Mine**, an after-school program in the violent neighborhood of Anacostia that provides 65 children from troubled families a safe environment for homework, hot food, and Bible study. Hawkins has refused to take money from the government ever since she participated in a D.C. food program and was told she was not allowed to feed hungry children at 3 in the afternoon or give them leftovers as they headed home.

Through other fundraisers, Breakfast for Champions has also financed: pregnancy testing and life-affirming literature for 600 women at the **Capitol Hill Crisis Pregnancy Center**; 22 walkie-talkies for the **Metro Orange Coalition**, the umbrella group for the brave men and women (mostly women) who are driving drug dealers out of their neighborhoods; pastoral care and a camp experience for the child of a D.C. prison inmate as part of the **Prison Fellowship Ministries**' Angel Tree program; and summer transportation for 60 participants in **The Fishing School**, a program run by ex-policeman Tom Lewis, a substitute father who teaches rocketry, dance, gardening, personal responsibility, and, yes, fishing to fatherless children.

We encourage members of Congress to hold similar fundraisers for effective poverty-fighters in their own districts.

As this issue went to press, we were preparing a fundraiser for **Clean and Sober Streets**, a no-nonsense, "one-strike-and-you're-out" drug and alcohol rehabilitation program that turns around the lives of homeless addicts without taking a dime of government money. We are still accepting donations of $25 (or more) for any of these worthy organizations.

Our goal in hosting these fundraisers is not only to raise money but also to generate publicity and future fundraising opportunities for effective civic groups that fight poverty through conservative principles. Here are some results of our efforts:

- After we held an event for the Washington Scholarship Fund, House Majority Leader Dick Armey invited some of his top donors to a $1,100-per-head fundraiser of his own, where he raised more than $100,000 for the WSF. Speaker Newt Gingrich and D.C.'s congressional delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton jointly spoke at a graduation ceremony for all Washington Scholarship Fund eighth-graders last June.
- The publicity generated by our fundraiser for Children of Mine, including a front-page *Washington Times* story, led to a profile of Hawkins in *Time* magazine and an invitation to President Clinton's volunteer summit in Philadelphia. Six people were inspired by our fundraiser to volunteer weekly at Children of Mine.
- The newly formed Capitol Volunteer Corps, started by members of Senator Spencer Abraham's staff, donated the proceeds from its first fundraiser to the Metro Orange Coalition.

The Heritage Foundation hopes to encourage members of Congress to hold similar fundraisers for effective poverty-fighters in their own districts and metropolitan areas. Speaker Gingrich, former Vice President Dan Quayle, Representative Steve Largent, and Senator Rick Santorum are among the political leaders who regularly raise funds for faith-based and other private civic groups that are outperforming government in helping the needy. Last April, congressmen Joe Pitts, Ron Packard, Mark Souder, and J.C. Watts visited and helped raise money for effective charities in Philadelphia and Wilmington, Delaware. The Renewal Alliance on Capitol Hill is organizing similar trips by congressmen and women.

A number of conservative organizations, including the Acton Institute, the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, the American Compass, and the Pacific Research Institute, provide monetary or nonmonetary awards to effective civic groups. They have found that this is an excellent way not only to help deserving private organizations, but also to gather information about what works best in fighting poverty. Similarly, we welcome suggestions for groups that should be included in our monthly breakfasts.

For more information about Breakfast for Champions and the groups we have hosted so far, or to be put on our mailing/fax/e-mail list, please visit our Web site at www.townhall.com/bfc or www.heritage.org/bfc, or contact Leslie Gardner at (202) 608-6161 or gardnerl@heritage.org. To contribute, send checks (made out directly to the organizations you wish to help) to Leslie Gardner, Breakfast for Champions, The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Adam Meyerson is a vice president of The Heritage Foundation and the editor of Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship.

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Private Prescriptions For Children's Health

The Kid Care legislation in the budget agreement of 1997 can hardly be faulted for its intent. Children who lack health insurance are less likely to see a doctor routinely or seek care for injuries and acute illnesses. They are more likely to receive sporadic care from emergency rooms or clinics. They are less likely to be immunized against serious childhood illnesses. Overall, uninsured children face longer odds of becoming healthy, productive adults.

But federally funded medical coverage for uninsured children may not be the most effective way to reach the uninsured or provide quality care for kids. Over the last decade, privately funded solutions have been bridging the health-care gap for hundreds of thousands of uninsured children. These community-based approaches involve a level of personal care frequently absent from Medicaid mills and other federal programs. The following is a small sampling of the dozens of initiatives evident across the country.

Caring Programs for Children

Responding to the economic collapse of Pennsylvania's steel industry in the mid-1980s, which left many children uninsured, Blue Cross–Blue Shield in Pittsburgh launched the first Caring Program for Children in 1985. The Caring Programs blend private insurance with charitable efforts to provide excellent medical care to children of low-income parents who are not eligible for Medicaid.

Children enroll in the insurance plan free of charge and become eligible for such benefits as preventive checkups, routine and emergency medical treatment, diagnostic tests, immunizations, and outpatient surgery. The only cost to families is a copayment of $3 to $5 for prescription medications. The Blue Cross–Blue Shield corporations that sponsor the Caring Programs pick up all their administrative overhead, including the costs of negotiating directly with physicians and hospitals for benefits. The families' claims are paid with charitable donations from local businesses, foundations, religious organizations, civic groups, schools, unions, and individuals—and every dollar donated goes directly to the cost of the children's health care.

Caring program's premiums are 60 to 67 percent lower than those of commercial insurers. "They're so much lower because not every benefit mandated by law for commercial benefits is included in the Caring Program benefits," explains Craig Jeffery, the chairman of the National Coordinating Council of Caring Programs for Children and the director of the Caring for Children Foundation of Texas. For the overwhelming majority of children, this basic benefit package is more than adequate.

"Giving everyone the luxury model effectively locks many people out of health insurance and therefore out of health care," Jeffery says. Most children (like most adults) don't need the "luxury model." Groups such as the Caring Program have found they can provide preventive care, routine treatment, diagnostic testing, and outpatient surgery to all children at an affordable cost. On the other hand, benefits such as speech therapy, ambulance allowances, maternity care for pregnant adolescents, and drug and psychiatric rehabilitation drive up the cost considerably. Fortunately, the majority of children don't need these services; those who do can often find them at community-based organizations. Jeffery notes that children who require hospitalization can get coverage through Medicaid.

The program is open to all children who attend school and live at home with parents who work at least part-time; parents must verify their income level when they apply. Since 1985, 25 programs in 23 states based on the Caring Program model have provided health coverage to 238,000 children; another 111,000 children are enrolled in state health-insurance programs patterned after Caring Programs.

For more information on Blue Cross–Blue Shield Caring Programs for Children, contact Craig Jeffery, P.O. Box 660583, Dallas, Texas 75266-0583. Tel.: 972-766-7190; fax: 972-766-1742.

Free Clinics

Free clinics have come a long way since their birth in the 1960s. Kevin C. Kelleher, a family practitioner and the volunteer medical director of the Bradley Free Clinic in Roanoke, Virginia, says the clinics have become "well-respected health-care centers providing outpatient services primarily to the working poor." Most of the clinics serve patients who are ineligible for Medicaid but lack health insurance, because either their employers don't provide it or they find the premiums too expensive.

Private initiatives have been bridging the health-care gap for hundreds of thousands of uninsured children.

The clinics' volunteer nature does not necessarily limit their scope. At the Bradley Free Clinic, more than 40 physicians, 50 nurses, 15 dentists, and other health-care professionals and laypeople offer medical and dental services one morning and two evenings each week. In addition to internists, family practitioners, and emergency-medicine physicians who provide routine care, specialists offer free services either on site or

by Kristine Napier

Kristine Napier has a master's degree in public health from Yale University School of Medicine and writes frequently about health-care issues.

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in their own offices. All told, they provide more than $1 million in medical and dental care to more than 11,000 people annually. Local hospitals perform all laboratory work *gratis* and donate some $45,000 of X rays each year; a private annual donation of $10,000 purchases eyeglasses for children.

The Bradley Clinic also provides more than $500,000 of prescriptions annually and uses donated funds to purchase other medications. "While people may find a physician who will see them without charge, many are unable to purchase prescribed medications and are no better off than before seeing a doctor," says Estelle Nichols Avner, the executive director of the clinic. Although the Bradley Free Clinic doesn't treat Medicaid-eligible patients, it does provide prescription medications to those who cannot purchase their own.

Each year, at least 250 free clinics across America serve perhaps hundreds of thousands of people who can afford neither health insurance nor health care. (There are no reliable estimates of how many people are served.) Most of these facilities receive no federal assistance or local government funding. "Federal money comes with strings attached and can dry up on short notice," says Avner, "leaving programs that depend on it stranded."

According to Kelleher, there are several reasons that free clinics are able to fill some of the health needs of the uninsured. "Free clinics are based in neighborhoods where there is need," he says. "Access and transportation are big problems for the uninsured," who often cannot travel to other medical alternatives. In addition, people feel more comfortable receiving care in their own neighborhoods and may even pay the clinic back by volunteering there. Free clinics prize their ability to meet the needs of individual patients, rather than following some federally mandated program requirements. This flexibility allows them to put community volunteers to work at their convenience, such as at night and on weekends. The result: inexpensive yet efficient care.

The free clinics offer physicians a better outlet for their compassion than performing *pro bono* treatment at their formal practices. "By centralizing indigent care," says Kelleher, "no one physician carries the burden of the majority of unreimbursed care. Bad-debt patients are fewer and practice overhead is lowered." The clinics' practices also reduce the overuse of emergency rooms and services, he says, saving taxpayer money.

Some argue that free clinics encourage a two-tiered health-care system in which the indigent receive inferior care. "There is no system that is not two-tiered," Kelleher responds. "Under nationalized health-care systems, the wealthier have access to fee-for-service care." Canadians who can afford private treatment, for example, often purchase better care in the United States.

Free care at a Pasadena church

The concept of providing health care with volunteers will continue to work, says Kelleher, "because physicians and other health-care professionals choose their profession because they want to help people—they all have a certain degree of altruism." Free-clinic medicine, he says, is medicine in its purest form, free of interference from health-insurance companies and government mandates.

For more information on free clinics, including how to start one, contact Estelle Nichols Avner, Free Clinic Foundation of America, 1240 3rd St. S.W., Roanoke, Va. 24016. Tel.: 540-344-8242.

Young & Healthy

After a 1988 survey found that one-third of the 22,000 children in the public schools of Pasadena, California, could not afford proper medical care, a local church convened a coalition of health professionals and community leaders. Rather than wait for a government solution, the coalition chose to respond to the need immediately. An emergency-room physician recruited other health-care professionals to volunteer. In 1990, only 18 doctors volunteered; today nearly 300 health-care professionals provide emergency and preventive care.

Thus emerged the Young & Healthy Program, which annually treats more than 1,000 ailing children without health coverage and offers preventive services to about 2,000 kids—all without federal assistance. The program has become a national model and has spurred at least 80 communities in 36 states to develop similar programs, often with assistance from the Young & Healthy staff.

"We have made a philosophical decision not to accept government funding," says executive director Mary Donnelly-Crocker. Accepting such funding requires too much documentation, she says, and "we're trying to keep ourselves as nonbureaucratic as possible. Also, we don't want to tax the taxpayers any further."

Children in need of medical or dental care are referred to Young & Healthy by school nurses or by alert staff members at homeless shelters, day-care centers, and shelters for battered women. Young & Healthy also dispatches staff nurses to facilities without medical staff to identify medically needy children. Young & Healthy staff members are much like brokers, matching up children in need of care to volunteer providers. Young & Healthy case managers and other staff members assume responsibility for seeing that children who need medical attention actually receive it. For example, Young & Healthy will send a volunteer to take a child to a doctor's appointment if his parents lack transportation. Case managers also refer patients to other, specialized medical services as necessary.

Among the 300 volunteers are physicians, dentists, therapists, and pharmacists who provide a full range of health services. Local hospitals provide outpatient care, emergency-room care, and surgical services free of charge. Similarly, medical laboratories, optometrists, podiatrists, audiologists, and physical therapists donate their services. While the program offers all eligible children treatment for acute problems, some volunteers choose to "adopt" their patients for ongoing care. "Some of our pediatricians, dentists, and therapists agree to take on a certain number of children free of charge each year," says Donnelly-Crocker, "and see

Photo courtesy of Young & Healthy

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them regularly for well-child care as well as for acute consultation."

Young & Healthy runs on about $500,000 a year (including in-kind donations), which it raises from individuals, businesses, community organizations, and foundations. The Pasadena Children's Guild assists the board's fundraising efforts.

For more information, contact Mary Donnelly-Crocker, Young & Healthy, 325 South Oak Knoll Ave., Pasadena, Calif. 91101. Tel.: 818-795-5166.

Church-Based Nurses

Americans have long turned to their churches and synagogues during times of emotional and spiritual need. A growing number now turn to their places of worship for medical needs as well.

In 1984, the Reverend Granger Westberg approached Lutheran General Hospital in Park Ridge, Illinois, with the idea of linking health care to churches. He proposed recruiting "parish nurses" as health counselors, identifying the medical problems of parishioners and connecting them with the appropriate health-care resources in the community. But he also hoped that nurses would help people draw upon their faith to see them through the medical problems and other crises in their lives. The original pilot group of six nurses has swelled to more than 3,000.

"Parish nurses fill health-care gaps in all types of communities," says Janet Griffin, a registered nurse and the director of the Parish Nurse Program at Trinity Regional Health System in Moline, Illinois. Her program serves both urban and rural congregations, tailoring its services to each population's needs. "People often think of the uninsured as being the poverty-stricken in urban areas," says Griffin. "But people who live in farming communities are often uninsured because they must purchase insurance as individuals—which is prohibitively expensive." At best, they can afford only catastrophic coverage, which doesn't include pap smears, mammograms, prostate screenings, and other preventive services, and they cannot pay out of pocket.

For the most part, parish nurses do not provide hands-on, "invasive" treatments. "We try to discover and address health-care issues before they become acute," says Griffin. "In providing wellness care, we hope to prevent major health problems." They offer blood-pressure tests after church services, for example, to uncover potentially dangerous cases of high blood pressure. They also direct parishioners with medical crises to physicians in the parish who volunteer their medical services.

"The parish nurse," wrote Westberg and Ann Solari-Twadell, the director of the International Parish Nurse Resource Center, in *Health Progress* magazine, "is a health educator, a personal health counselor, a volunteer coordinator and support-group organizer, a community liaison, and a role model for the relationship between one's faith and health." Indeed, parish nurses provide more than pure medical care—they also care for the soul. They offer a "wellness ministry," bringing a pastoral dimension to the treatment of ailing parishioners, including children.

Parish-nurse initiatives follow diverse models. In some cases, a church simply hires its own nurse. Sometimes a foundation or the nonprofit arm of a hospital network initiates the effort. Even then, the nonprofit sponsor typically funds the nurse's salary for one year, but the church assumes the full cost within three or four years. In Trinity's Parish Nurse Program, for example, each church provides 25 percent of the salary during the initial year; within three years, it must assume 100 percent of the cost. Trinity supports 50 nurses in 54 churches within a 50-mile radius.

"We offer a perk that makes the program easier for churches to offer," says Griffin. The nurses are all hired and trained by Griffin's staff, and her office handles all the paperwork for the nurses' salaries and benefits.

For more information on parish nursing, contact the International Parish Nurse Resource Center, 205 West Touhy Ave., Suite 104, Park Ridge, Ill. 60068; tel.: 800-556-5368.

Other Medical Resources

Children's Miracle Network • Via 165 hospitals throughout the United States and Canada, the Children's Miracle Network (CMN) provided $2.5 billion in charity health care in 1996 alone to afflicted children. Funds are generated through community fundraising campaigns. *For further information, contact CMN at 4525 South 2300 East, Suite 202, Salt Lake City, Utah 84117. Tel.: 801-278-8900, fax: 801-277-8787.*

Shriners Hospitals • For 75 years, the Shriners have been delivering free health care to children who have a condition treatable at one of the Shriners' 22 hospitals and whose family cannot afford treatment elsewhere. Shriners' hospitals receive no government support nor third-party payments. *For further information and treatment applications, call 800-237-5055.*

St. Clare Medical Outreach Van • Sponsored by St. Francis Hospital of Wilmington, Delaware, this physician-staffed medical van serves working-class poor and homeless (without Medicare or Medicaid) throughout New Castle County. This service brings medical treatment to about 28 patients per day, 30 percent of whom are age 19 or younger, all without government assistance. Funds come from St. Francis Hospital and private foundations. *For further information, contact Dr. Thomas C. Scott at St. Francis Hospital, 7th and Clayton Streets, Wilmington, Del. 19805. Tel.: 302-575-8218.*

Nemours Foundation • The Nemours Foundation serves children in four states. From its start at a children's hospital in Wilmington, Delaware, services have expanded to 10 pediatric primary-care clinics in Delaware and four clinics in Florida. More recently, it has partnered with seven hospitals in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to provide pediatric services. In Delaware alone, the Nemours Foundation facilities service 180,000 children, whether they have private insurance, Medicaid, or neither; a Nemours financial assistance program aids families who could not otherwise afford care. *For further information, contact 1600 Rockland Rd., Wilmington, Del. 19803. Tel.: 800-829-KIDS.*

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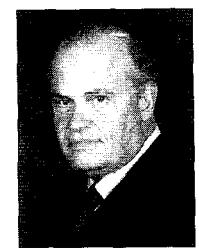
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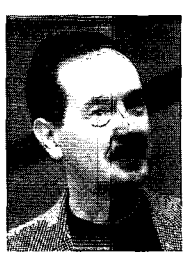
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Laboratories of Democracy

Conservative Hopes For Off-Year Elections

This November, voters will settle political battles in New Jersey and Virginia, two states with little in common, it seems, except disgruntled automobile owners. Here's an overview of how these gubernatorial races might advance the cause of conservatism.

New Jersey's Promise Keeper

Republican governor Christine Todd Whitman's promenade across the national stage after her election four years ago was accompanied by a chorus of praise from "big tent" conservatives. Since then, the chorus has shrunk to an occasional soloist.

After staking out a radical pro-choice position on the abortion issue and paying for spending increases by borrowing from the state pension plan, "Christie" Whitman will have to seek re-election without the enthusiastic support of social or economic conservatives. At press time she was leading her Democratic opponent, state senator and Woodbridge mayor James McGreevey, by about 15 points in independent polls. Most observers believe she will win, but by a smaller margin than anyone would have predicted a year or two ago.

McGreevey, who supported the massive state tax hikes that cost Democratic governor Jim Florio re-election in 1993, will run a strong campaign. He is a traditional liberal backed by a smooth party machine, and he can count on the support of unionized, working-class Catholic voters in a state that voted overwhelmingly for Reagan twice in the 1980s and for Clinton twice in the 1990s. His electoral base, central New Jersey, is rich with minority and urban voters. Unfortunately for conservatives, McGreevey is more liberal than the Democrat he beat in the primary, which gives Whitman plenty of room to campaign on centrist positions. Unlike 1993, when Florio's broken promise on taxes incensed his detractors and numbed his supporters, this election offers no singularly motivating campaign issue.

Conservative voters in Virginia and New Jersey hope their next governors will complete some unfinished business.

Whitman's slogan, "Promises Made, Promises Kept," implies that she plans to make her income-tax cut the centerpiece of her campaign. Although the Right criticized her for limiting the full benefits of her 30 percent tax cut to lower- and middle-income New Jerseyans, Whitman did manage to fulfill her promise by 1995, a year ahead of schedule. Her lesser-known accomplishments include eliminating the state's department of higher education, ending more than 4,000 unnecessary state jobs, and trimming her own staff and budget by more than 20 percent.

But will voters give her credit for it? A Quinnipiac College poll taken in late June indicates a majority of voters disapprove of her record on taxes. This is due in part to the fact that property tax rates have risen during her term. These taxes are levied by municipal governments, not the state, but Democrats attribute their rise to Whitman's cutback of state aid to towns and counties, and the charges seem to stick.

Even worse news for Whitman is that 70 percent of voters fault her handling of auto-insurance reform. New Jersey drivers pay the highest premiums in the nation and have been asking their politicians for relief since at least the 1980s. Whitman had hoped to make insurance reform her heroic deed of the year, but the Republican-controlled legislature didn't come through for her this time. She wound up settling for a skeletal insurance reform bill as state legislators scurried out of Trenton for recess this June.

While conservatives within the state and around the country laud her tax cuts, they bemoan her resistance to cutting spending as well. By postponing part of this year's payment to the state pension fund to balance the budget, Whitman allowed Democrats and the *New York Times* to decry a "pension-fund raid." But few conservatives or Republicans have defended her. Says Richard Pezzullo, the Conservative Party's candidate for governor, "You don't borrow on your Visa card to invest in the stock market."

John Sheridan, the president of New Jersey Citizens for Tax Reform, supports Whitman tepidly because she's "as conservative as it gets in New Jersey." Along with auto-insurance reform, he lists as disappointments her state budget "shenanigans," her failure to push for the right to enact laws directly

New Jersey governor Christine Todd Whitman carves a centrist path.

by Bernadette Malone

Bernadette Malone is a national political reporter for Evans & Novak, *and a former staff member in the New York state senate.*

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through initiative and referendum, and her retreat in the fight for state-funded school vouchers that parents could use to send their children to private schools.

Of Whitman's flirtation with vouchers, says Sheridan, "I don't fault her as much as I do the leadership of the senate and assembly." Although Republicans control both houses of the state legislature (24-16 in the Senate, 50-30 in the General Assembly), they are moderate-to-liberal lawmakers who tend to shrink from bold initiatives. Sheridan contends that this timidity may cost Republicans their majority in the Senate this November.

Despite its aversion to controversy, the state legislature passed a ban on the "partial-birth" abortion procedure earlier this year. To the dismay of Republicans and conservatives nationwide, Whitman promptly vetoed it. This action may not cost her re-election as governor, but it snuffed out her chances of earning the GOP nomination for president or vice president. Even pro-choice Republicans like Sheridan find her defense of the procedure difficult to understand. "I was surprised and troubled by it, and I'm pro-choice," says Sheridan.

All in all, the state's conservatives feel troubled, but not betrayed. After all, Whitman never promised them a rose garden—just a tax cut.

Virginia's Heir Apparent

If the eyes are the window to the soul, perhaps Web sites are the window to the campaign. The staff for gubernatorial candidate Don Beyer, a successful Volvo salesman and the Democratic lieutenant governor, have put together a site that is sleek, graphic, colorful, and 3-D. My 67-year-old boss, who has little patience for Web sites, remarked that it made him feel like going out and buying a car. Jim Gilmore, the Republican candidate, appears on his site like the stiff state attorney general and career prosecutor he once was. The scads of unadorned text read like the computerized card catalog in a law library, and Gilmore's portrait evokes the forbidding Professor Kingsley in *The Paper Chase*.

The election to replace Republican governor George Allen is shaping up to be a contest between substance and style: Gilmore has a winning idea, but Beyer enjoys both a reputation as a New Democrat and high name recognition in northern Virginia, where he owns a well-advertised, eponymous car dealership. Gilmore, the more conservative candidate, will have to overcome a dearth of charisma. Conservatives have noted some improvements in Gilmore's campaigning, but say he still has a long way to go. "You come away from a meeting with Beyer feeling all warm and fuzzy," says Bill Kincaid, a veteran conservative activist who is campaigning for Mark Earley, the Republican candidate for attorney general.

Gilmore recently promised to cut the state's dreaded "personal property" tax on cars and trucks. Gilmore would exempt the first $20,000 of value from the tax, which is collected annually in October. Just a few weeks before Election Day this year, every car-driving Virginian will have to write a painful check to the state government for hundreds or thousands of dollars.

After criticizing the costs of Gilmore's tax cut, Beyer has offered a scaled-down version, available only to lower-income car owners. He has also copied Gilmore's proposal for scholarships for higher education and touted his own record as a crime-fighter.

One political asset Beyer can't borrow from Gilmore is the Republican's association with Allen, a conservative whose approval rating after four years in office is still around 70 percent. Virginia law bars him from running for a second consecutive term. "There's a sense you're re-electing an incumbent," says Kevin Gentry, a Republican party activist and the executive vice president of the Leadership Institute, in Arlington, Virginia. But it has been said that Gilmore is to Allen as George Bush was to Ronald Reagan. Gilmore is cautious, more process-oriented than ideological, and on a few issues—like gun rights and abortion—simply more liberal. But on a scale of 1 to 100, says Gentry, "he's a 90 to a 95."

Republican Jim Gilmore has a shot at the governorship, if conservatives will only trust him to preserve and extend George Allen's conservative legacy.

Virginia's conservative governor George Allen cannot run again.

Allen has earned high grades from conservatives for abolishing parole and increasing prison sentences, requiring able-bodied welfare recipients to work, and setting respectable academic standards for public education over the objections of the teachers unions. He has drawn mild criticism from the Right for doing too little to secure parental rights, reduce state spending, and resist the federal Goals 2000 education program, which he reluctantly joined despite federal mandates that accompany the funding.

Since Democrats currently control both the house of delegates (52-46) and the senate (20-20 with Beyer breaking ties as lieutenant governor), Allen couldn't have been expected to win every battle. Jay Katzan, a House Republican, predicts that with a few more GOPers in his chamber and another like-minded governor, conservatives next year could advance charter schools, the parental-rights amendment, more welfare reform, and, of course, a cut in personal property taxes.

It seems more likely that Gilmore will win the governorship than Republicans will take over either legislative chamber. "He's an absolutely dogged candidate," says Morton Blackwell, a national Republican committeeman for Virginia. Keeping up with Beyer in the polls and fundraising, Gilmore has a shot at victory if conservatives will trust him to preserve and extend Allen's conservative legacy.

Illustrations by Kathryn Vierra

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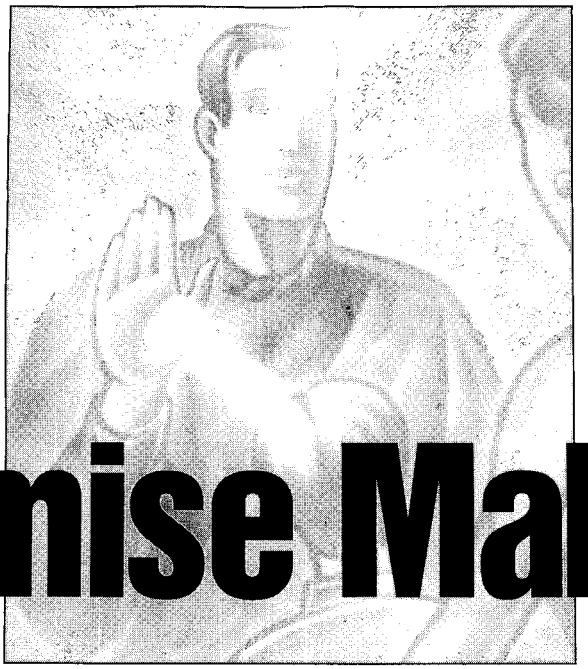

Promise Makers

The founder of Promise Keepers explains why he's calling for a spiritual assembly of men in the nation's capital.

By Bill McCartney

America is suffering from a severe shortage of integrity, and men are behind some of its worst manifestations. Men are more likely than women to break their marriage vows through adultery, violence, or abandonment. Men are impregnating young women in record numbers and leaving them to deal with the consequences—a stint on welfare, an education cut short, or a trip to an abortion clinic. Men are also more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol and then engage in a wide range of criminal behavior. Indeed, it is men, overwhelmingly, who commit most of the nation's violent crimes and dominate its prison system: At least 94 percent of all inmates are male.

Social problems are moral problems, which ultimately have a spiritual cause. For those of us involved in Christian outreach programs, the connection is inescapable: The failure of large numbers of men to live up to their family and social obligations represents a failure of faith.

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More to the point, the growing irresponsibility of men points, in large part, to a failure in our Christian churches. Men are much less likely than women to set foot in a church, less likely to say they are absolutely committed to Jesus Christ, less likely to read the Bible during the week or strongly affirm the role of religious faith in their lives. Many—perhaps most—men see church mainly as a place for women and children. A similar separation of men from religious life is to be found in non-Christian communities as well. Uninspired by any religious vision for their lives, more and more men are becoming disconnected from any moral vision.

All of this is taking a tremendous toll on our culture. The absence of responsible men from the home is now widely regarded as the most important cause of America's social decline. If America is truly in the throes of cultural breakdown, then the shallow faith of so many men, and the kind of behavior that follows from it, has contributed to this breakdown.

The Need of the Hour

But here is where many feminists and others who scorn traditional virtue have it wrong: If men are a principal cause of family meltdown, crime, and racial strife, then men also are central to the solutions to those problems. What America desperately needs today is men who take responsibility for their actions, who are faithful to their families, who keep their word, even when it's difficult or costly.

America is crying out for a generation of "promise keepers." Five years ago, when I was still the head football coach at the University of Colorado, I realized that too many *men* were getting their priorities out of alignment. I'd seen too many men who called themselves Christians and attended church, but had little idea what it meant to live out a Christian ethic, either on the playing field or in their homes. To be honest, I watched my own family suffer as I poured myself into my career. I rationalized my workaholism, of course, but in reality I was letting go of my most basic responsibilities. Family members and friends finally helped me to see that, in essence, I had been directing my own life without reference to God. Because I failed so miserably, I've been able to see that many men today are doing exactly the same thing I did.

I resigned my coaching position in order to help bring together men who were interested in succeeding in the most important areas of their lives: their personal relationships with Almighty God, their wives, and their children. Just over 4,000 men met in 1991 at the Coors Event Center in Boulder, Colorado, for the first conference of our new organization, Promise Keepers. It was not a gathering of angry white males or an exercise in chest-beating or in lifting male self-esteem. This was about men taking stock of their moral and spiritual inventory. We asked men to publicly proclaim their love and allegiance to Jesus Christ and their commitment to their families. Since then, more than 2 million men have attended conferences in which they are challenged to make, and keep, a series of promises to honor God, to remain faithful to

Photo by Ovie Carter, courtesy of Promise Keepers; illustration on facing page by Robert Johannsen

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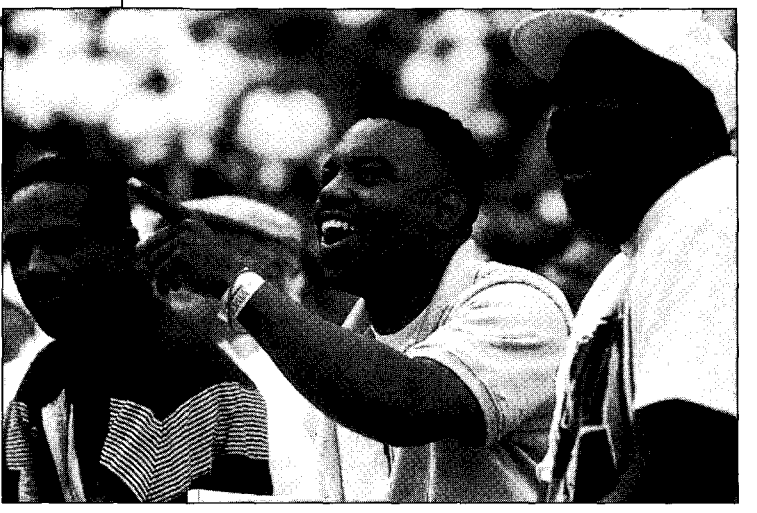
Left: At conferences nationwide, sons are joining their fathers as they pledge to honor their family obligations.

Bottom: When men shun any leadership role for their families, McCartney says, they cannot effectively care for their wives and children.



their spouses, and to support their churches.

Now we are taking Promise Keepers a step further. We are calling on men to come to Washington, D.C., for a day of heartfelt confession and prayer. Men from all over the country will gather not for any political cause, but for the purpose of being honest with each other and, most importantly, with God Himself, about our shortcomings. We want to see God spark personal renewal in the lives of tens of thousands of men, the kind of spiritual commitment that radically changes attitudes and everyday decisions.

Why Washington, D.C., and why now?

The nation's capital has historically served as the geographical soul of America, the place where national tragedies are mourned, where victories are celebrated, where protests are most keenly felt, and where the nation's attention turns to in times of crisis. Many believe we are in such a crisis. Many Christian leaders correctly see the crisis not only *out there* in the larger culture, but *right here*, inside the church. That's why, despite what our critics claim, we aren't interested in political agendas; politics simply can't touch issues of the heart.

Prayer can do that, for it involves communicating with our Creator. It means bowing down before Almighty God. For Christians, humble prayer unlocks the door to a personal, life-transforming relationship with Christ Himself. It is perhaps the most important tool for moral and spiritual rebirth. And so what better place to spark such renewal, to help address our national ills, than in the symbolic heart of the nation?

Signs of the Times

In the game of football, if your team is getting trounced, you'd better have a serious talk with the men at halftime and identify the problems. There is plenty of blame to go around to explain the ills afflicting America, but the decline in responsible manhood is surely one of the worst culprits.

Why, for example, are young teenage boys the fastest growing group of violent criminals in America today? Could it have anything to do with the fact that fathers are less and less likely to live with their sons? In one generation, the proportion of children entering a broken family has more than quadrupled. Patrick Fagan of The Heritage Foundation, using data from the National Center for Health Statistics, calculates that in 1950 about 12 out of 100 kids entered a family torn by divorce or illegitimacy; last year the number was 58 out of 100. More children are growing up without fathers than at any time in our nation's history. And though many women are courageously raising children on their own, kids—especially young boys—need the firm guidance of a loving father.

Why have crimes against American women—assault, rape, spousal abuse—hit new highs among the industrialized West? Is it a coincidence that America leads the world as a peddler of pornography? According to *U.S. News & World Report*, the number of hard-core pornographic video rentals rose from 75 million in 1985 to 665 million in 1996. Last year, the money that Americans (mostly men) spent viewing hard-core videos, peep shows, live sex acts, adult cable programming, computer porn, sex magazines, and the like exceeded all of Hollywood's domestic box-office receipts. Any clearheaded man can tell you: The more that men are exposed to images of

Left photo by Leonard Ortiz; right photo by Wayne Armstrong; both courtesy of Promise Keepers

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women as objects created only to satisfy their needs, the more likely they are to treat women in exactly that way.

The list could go on. In a breathtaking range of categories, America ranks as a leader in vice. "If God withholds judgment from America," Billy Graham once said, "He will owe Sodom and Gomorrah an apology." He echoes the warning of Founding Father Thomas Jefferson: "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that His justice cannot sleep forever."

A Weakened Church

One of the most important reasons for America's declining morals is the lack of powerful restraints on people's worst impulses. In my view, every society needs the restraint of the people of God, who act as bulwarks against people's ill-informed and destructive choices, like offensive linemen protecting the quarterback. They are the ones most likely to discourage evil, to argue for moral reform, and to perform heroic acts of kindness. Russell Kirk once put it this way: "Without Christian culture and Christian hope, the modern world would come to resemble a half-derelict fun fair, gone nasty and poverty-racked; one enormous Atlantic City."

Yet today the church in America is grievously compromised. In a 1991 poll conducted by George Barna, 25 percent of regular church attendees admitted that their Christian beliefs made no significant difference in their lives. The problem is especially acute among men: Barna found that men are half as likely as women to attend a church during any given week. Men are also 33 percent less likely to say they are religious and to claim they are absolutely committed to their faith.

Pollster George Gallup reports that, while almost half of Americans attend church services, only 6 to 10 percent are what he terms "highly spiritually committed." Gallup's research has compared behavior of churched and unchurched people in a variety of categories: people who call in sick when they are not, pad their resumes, cheat on tax deductions, and so on. His research has found little difference in the ethical views and behavior of the churched and the unchurched.

How can this be? Despite evidence of interest in religion at the popular level (books about angels, the growth of "psychic hotlines"), people seem to be looking for support, not salvation; help rather than holiness; a circle of spiritual equals rather than an authoritative church or guide. Too many churches are pandering to this trend.

But one of the major functions of the local church is to help Christians continuously deepen their devotion to God, to become more like Christ Himself. That means facing up to personal failures, shedding selfish attitudes, and exchanging destructive habits for healthy ones. In countless practical ways, Christian faith ought to affect how men resolve conflicts, control their tempers, juggle work and family responsibilities, and discipline their children. Without such devotion, there is little reason to expect most men to make good choices most of the time.

How can we recover a healthy fear of God in our lives, our churches, our communities? How can people of faith re-emerge as a powerful, nearly irresistible force for good in our society? It will not happen without prayer: prayer for repentance, reconciliation, and renewal.

Biblical repentance means taking personal responsibility for our actions, admitting to God where we've gone out of bounds, and asking for His forgiveness and for the strength to change course. Reconciliation means taking whatever steps necessary to repair relationships that we've helped to damage. Renewal involves pledging our best efforts to honor God and meet our God-given responsibilities in our families and communities.

The failure of men to live out their responsibilities as husbands and fathers reflects a profound failure in the American church.

This is what our sacred assembly in Washington aims to bring about. We will spend most of the day in prayer, worship, and confession. Pastors and other Christian leaders will speak about these subjects. Men will be challenged to admit their failings and sins not only to God but to one another. The adage "confession is good for the soul" is much more than a religious platitude. It is an affirmation that there is a spiritual dimension to life, and that when we neglect our spiritual lives, we damage our own souls.

A New Game Plan

We realize that conferences might produce a lot of heat, but not much light. As a former coach, I know it's not enough simply to get men worked up in the locker room about winning a ball game. They need a game plan.

That's why Promise Keepers, since its founding, has worked closely with local churches, which are still the key to revitalizing men's commitment to spiritual growth. Promise Keepers has three roles, all of which we believe will strengthen local congregations: First, we use stadium conferences to challenge men to rededicate their lives to Christ, through biblical teaching, worship, and the Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper (see box, page 19). Thousands of men have made decisions to follow Christ that have profoundly and positively changed the way they regard their family responsibilities.

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Second, we offer pastors the tools to challenge men to grow in their faith and in their ability to live out the promises they make to their wives, children, and churches. When it comes to influencing men through our congregations, the role of spiritual leaders is absolutely crucial; yet while men are catching the vision at the conferences, few churches have established men's ministries that are prepared to help them live out that vision. We distribute study materials aimed at men that can be used both in the pulpit and in group discussions.

Finally, we want to see men become significantly involved in serving people in their congregations and in their local communities. From a biblical standpoint, serving others must involve real sacrifice: At a recent conference in Washington, D.C., for example, we mobilized 1,500 men to help clean and repair 47 dilapidated school buildings. On October 3, approximately 5,000 men will go to 90 D.C. schools and do the same thing, all as unpaid volunteers.

Behind our goals is an assumption that one of the ways to help people make real life changes is through relationships. This is why churches are so important: They offer numerous opportunities for men to build friendships with other men, especially in the context of small groups. Whether task-oriented (fixing a church member's car or mowing the lawn for a single mom) or study-oriented (poring over a passage of Scripture), small groups allow men to get involved in each other's lives.

How does that make a difference? Only in the context of meaningful friendships can men hold one another accountable for their behavior, seek advice about their marriages or careers, and be candid about the struggles they're facing. The authors of the Bible understood this when they wrote that "plans fail for lack of counsel, but with many advisors they succeed" and that "as iron sharpens iron, so one man sharpens another" (Proverbs 15:22; 27:17).

In our best moments, we want to do the right thing, but often we don't. If men are regularly getting together as friends, with a common Christian commitment, then they'll be asking each other some tough questions about their behavior: Who was that woman you were having dinner with the other night? How are you handling the temptation to pad your expense account at work? The men could lie, of course. But the better a man knows his friend, the easier it is to sense when he's fudging the truth.

Men and Manhood

Many have asked us, why only men? Won't another men's-only club just worsen the relationship between the sexes?

There's no doubt that when men are simply left to themselves, whether roving in gangs or gathering in locker rooms, they often are trouble waiting to happen. That's exactly what our conferences are *not* about.

Men *can* meet and work together for positive purposes, whether it's fixing up schools or coaching Little League baseball. And when they do so to establish or deepen their relationship to Christ, something extraordinary happens. It's a dynamic that is hard to describe, but our events seem to reach a level of lasting honesty, vulnerability, and commitment. Our conferences and the friendships that grow out of them help to create a healthy pressure among men to do the right thing. It's a sense that we're in this thing—this journey of faith and commitment to God and our families—together. When I talk to men about the impact of the conferences on their lives, this is one of the first things they tell me.

I've worked closely with hundreds of men over the years, and at least one common denominator stands out: Men are eager to make and keep promises; they want to be challenged to "be all they can be"—that is, to adopt a thoroughly Christian vision for their lives. Promise Keepers is about helping men see a picture, giving them concrete goals and helping them move toward those goals, whether that's spending more time with their children, learning to honor their word to their wives, or learning to own up to failure on the job. It is about becoming men of integrity, because integrity is impossible without keeping promises.

There's another reason to bring men together for training and encouragement. We live in a society that is, almost daily it seems, redefining manhood. That men are carrying more responsibility in child-rearing is a great step; it is one of the most important ways that men can demonstrate their love for their families. But it's not the whole story of what it means to be a husband and father.

From a Christian perspective, men have a unique, God-given responsibility for the spiritual health of their families. Some suspect that in emphasizing this leadership role for men, we seek to put women down or turn back the clock on women's recent gains. On the contrary, by challenging men to take their faith seriously, we think they will work harder at nurturing their wives and children and helping them fulfill their own God-given potential.

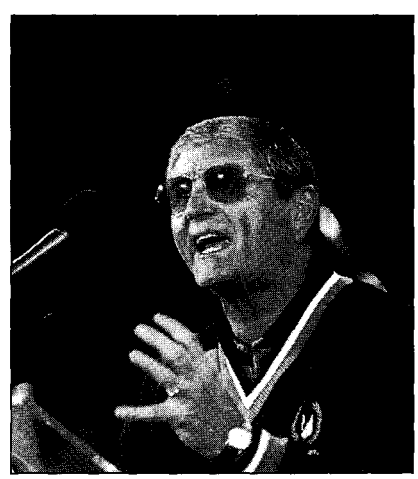

Photo by Wayne Armstrong; courtesy of Promise Keepers

His real agenda: Promise Keepers founder and CEO Bill McCartney says prayer, not politics, is the gateway to moral and spiritual renewal.

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Whenever the Bible discusses the issue of male leadership, for example, it is always for the purpose of serving and sacrificing for others—for the family, the church, and the world. To read the teachings of Christ and the apostles in any other way is to distort the Scriptures. Period. Ironically, it is men's masculine qualities, their willingness to provide for and protect their families, for example, or to draw strong boundaries for their children, that seem to be in greatest demand by women today. And so one of the specific promises of a Promise Keeper is to support his family through love, protection, and biblical values.

We realize that many people, even those sympathetic with our goals, remain suspicious about Promise Keepers' challenge to men. Let me suggest that much of this skepticism is a result of some pretty lousy examples of men, even supposedly religious men, who manipulate and exploit the women around them. No woman wants—nor should want—to love and support a husband who acts like a predator or a tyrant. Those who remain skeptical ought to ask the wives and children of men who attend our conferences if they resent or are troubled by their husbands' determination to follow Christ. He is, after all, our supreme model for manhood.

In a few weeks we will assemble men from around the nation and from other countries on the Mall in Washington, D.C., in what will be a national sacred assembly. There are great precedents for such a gathering. Spiritual assemblies such as these played an important role in some of America's greatest spiritual awakenings—which always led both to transformed lives and to significant moral reform.

During the early 19th century, for example, tens of thousands of men and women converted to Christianity in revival campaigns that became known as the Second Great Awakening. The movement began in England and had its roots in a Call to Prayer issued by pastors in Northamptonshire in 1784. The flame of revival eventually spread to America, where it shaped the course of the great national debate on abolition. Large numbers of new converts, determined to follow Christ wholeheartedly, freed their slaves. Many began to preach publicly against slavery. Others helped with the Underground Railroad, which shuttled slaves to freedom in the North.

We sense that America faces a cultural crisis as potentially destructive as that facing the nation in the era of slavery. That's why we are calling the October 4 event Stand in the Gap: A Sacred Assembly of Men. It's taken from the prophet Ezekiel's plaintive cry for his own people to return to God. In Ezekiel's day, the people of Israel had wandered far from God, their first love. The result for Israel was national disaster: military defeat from without, moral rot from within. Ezekiel despairs that no one is willing to come forward to climb the literal breach in Jerusalem's walls and act as a human rampart against the evils of his day. In Ezekiel 22:30, God tells the nation: "I looked for a man among them who would build up the wall and stand before me in the gap on behalf of the land so I would not have to destroy it, but I found none."

We believe that God is again looking for a few good men who desire to honor Him in every area of their lives. In so doing, such men will refuse to abandon their wives during the tough times; they will balance their obligations at work with those at home; they'll gladly lose sleep to calm a child who hears ghosts under the bed. Today, more than ever, America needs men like these, men who will "stand in the gap" and stand against a culture that mocks commitment, sacrifice, and virtue. May God find a multitude of such men when He looks upon our capital this October.

Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper

A Promise Keeper is committed to:

Honor Jesus Christ through worship, prayer, and obedience to God's Word through the power of the Holy Spirit.

Pursue vital relationships with a few other men, understanding that he needs brothers to help him keep his promises.

Practice spiritual, moral, ethical, and sexual purity.

Build strong marriages and families through love, protection, and biblical values.

Support the mission of his church by honoring and praying for his pastor and by actively giving his time and resources.

Reach beyond any racial and denominational barriers to demonstrate the power of biblical unity.

Influence his world, being obedient to the Great Commandment (Mark 12:30-31) and the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-20).

Bill McCartney *is the founder and CEO of Promise Keepers in Denver, Colorado. He was the head football coach at the University of Colorado during the 1990-91 season, when the Buffaloes won their first national football championship ever with a victory over Notre Dame in the Orange Bowl.*

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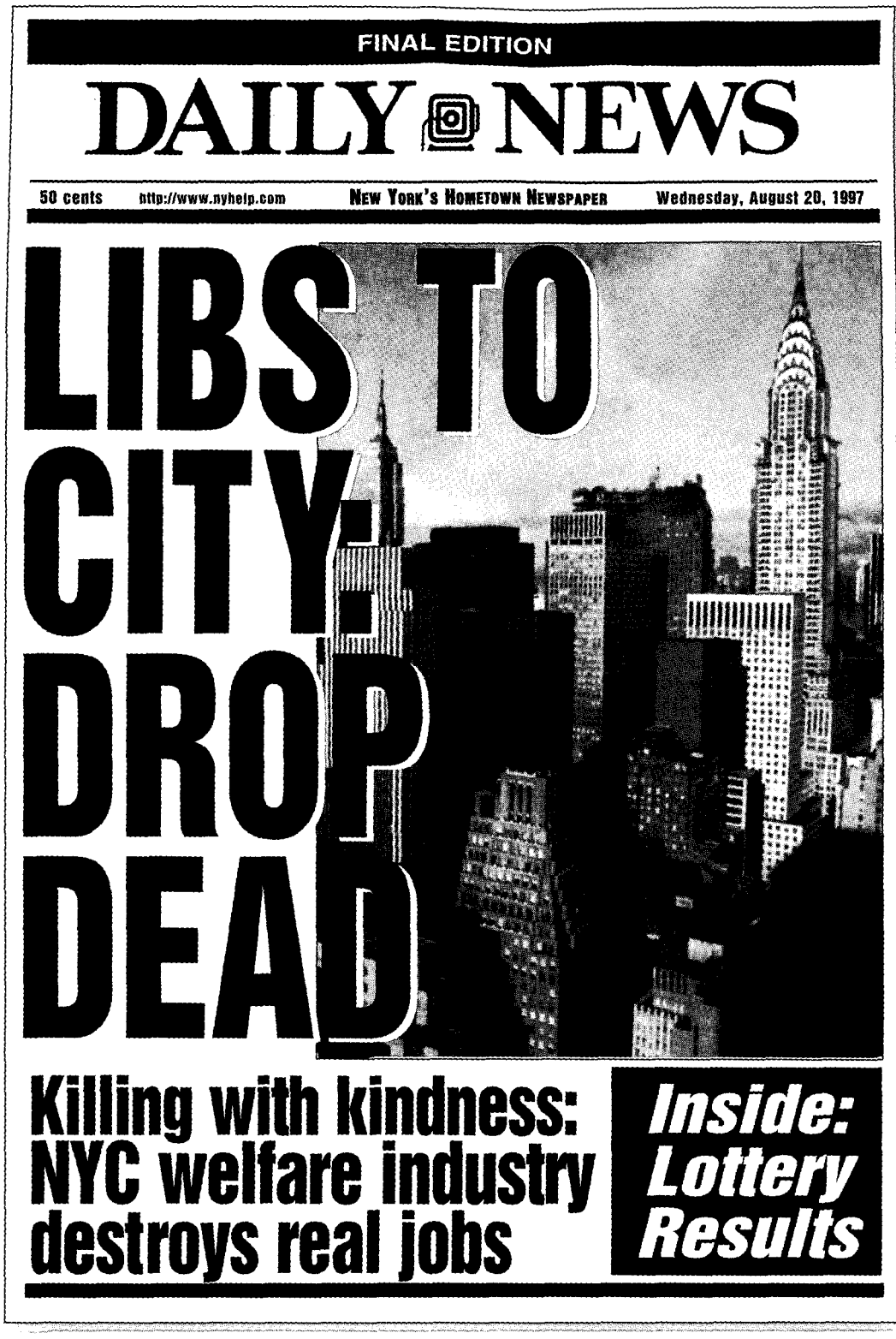

FINAL EDITION

DAILY NEWS

50 cents http://www.nyhelp.com NEW YORK'S HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER Wednesday, August 20, 1997

LIBS TO CITY: DROP DEAD

Killing with kindness: NYC welfare industry destroys real jobs

Inside: Lottery Results

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For all his considerable success in reducing crime, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani has had a difficult time turning the city's economy around. That task may be too difficult for even the best of mayors. Over the years, as the city's high-tax, high-regulation policies have driven out private businesses, the city has become more and more dependent on social-service jobs partially funded by Washington, D.C. After World War II, New York had more than 1 million manufacturing jobs and about a quarter of a million people on welfare. Today

New York City, a once-great economic colossus, is destroying its private sector to finance a make-work social-service economy

By Fred Siegel

the numbers are roughly reversed. New York has about 850,000 people on some form of public assistance and fewer than 300,000 manufacturing jobs. As City Councilman Antonio Pagan told me in the early 1990s, "The social-services sector has replaced light industry as a source of employment, and it's only going to grow."

You might think that this economic reversal is simply the unfortunate result of a typical 20th-century urban malady: growing poverty amidst a dearth of low-skilled jobs. In fact, the social-service industry's inability to rehabilitate those it serves is the basis of its success, since failure simply proves that even more money is needed. New York is a city in which government—the means to satisfy public needs—has become an end in itself.

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Long ago, the city struck a bad bargain driven by liberal notions of economic justice and redistribution of wealth. Ever since the Depression-era administration of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, but especially from the mid-1960s until the election of Giuliani in 1993, successive mayors have cultivated the growth of social services, aided by federal subsidies. Yet the inflow of federal aid has obscured the fact that New York has long been sending more dollars to Washington than it has been receiving in return.

In the early 1990s, New York City was sending Washington roughly $8 billion to $9 billion a year in taxes and fees more than it got back. While New York's liberals talk about social justice, other regions of the country are stealing their socks. New York is continuing to pay the price for replacing a once vibrant private-sector economy with a public sector created to sell poverty to Washington in return for social-service dollars.

The Private Sector Bails Out

In 1933, La Guardia persuaded President Roosevelt to make New York City a laboratory for New Deal programs. While federal money poured in for jobs programs and public works, the city's budget still managed to grow faster than the rise in federal transfers—as well as the rise in local revenue. The same pattern continued in the 1950s and early 1960s under Mayor Robert Wagner Jr., who also granted municipal unions the power of collective bargaining. His successor, Mayor John Lindsay, eagerly embraced the ideology—and the federal subsidies—of the Great Society and consciously sought to increase access to and eligibility for welfare benefits. Between 1965, just before he took office, and 1971, the city's welfare rolls grew from 538,000 to 1.2 million during an economic boom.

During the high-water mark of federal transfer payments to the cities, New York accounted for one-third of the increase in ghetto poverty nationally.

February 1967 was a dreadful month for the New York City economy. "Within a ten-day period in February 1967," wrote historian John Teaford, "both American Can and Pepsi-Cola announced plans to leave for the suburbs; Olin Mathieson announced it was shifting its headquarters for chemical operations to Connecticut and Bohn Office Machines announced it was looking to leave." That same February, 14 other corporations with 11,500 employees in Manhattan began to plan their exits. In 1967, New York was the headquarters of 139 of the Fortune 500 companies, down by only one since 1956. By 1975, the number had dropped to 98 headquarters, and the bottom was nowhere in sight. Today, the city hosts only 56 Fortune 500 firms.

One might have thought that the shock of February 1967, and the subsequent loss of 120,000 manufacturing job losses within three years, would have produced second thoughts about the city's economic policies. They didn't. New York's economy was in free fall, and Lindsay's primary response was to add more municipal workers to the 60,000 he had already hired between 1966 and 1968.

In the 1960s, the city's ability to produce wealth was taken for granted. Nothing, not even the decline of the once-thriving docks, the railroad shutdowns, and subsequent decline in manufacturing, could shake that. The city elites backing the liberal mayor placed their faith in a "new New York" based on financial services in Manhattan and an ongoing expansion of the social-service industry in the outer boroughs. To help pay for massive social-services spending, Lindsay initiated a local income tax that made New York the highest-taxed locality in the country.

The city was placing an enormous bet. Not only was it rapidly increasing taxes to pay for the growth of government, but it was also shifting the kind of government services it would provide. Between 1965 and 1975, the percentage of the budget that went to the basic city services that businesses and the middle class count on (such as police and fire departments, roads, and schools) fell from 46 to 30 percent of the budget, while welfare spending quadrupled and social-service spending, including hospital expenditures, rose from 22 to 37 percent of the budget.

Worse yet, salary increases and reductions in workload raised the cost of municipal labor. As a result, basic city services tripled in cost (while dropping as a percentage of the budget) but declined in quality. Vast numbers of private-sector workers were drawn onto the public payroll directly or into city-subsidized social services. In effect, municipal employees were paid more to do less, while businesses and the middle class were taxed much more to get much less.

The increase in public-sector employment and the decline in the private sector were more than statistical artifacts. In practice, one often produced the other. Even high-end textile manufacturers paying four times the minimum wage with medical benefits found that they couldn't compete with a 35-hour-a-week city job offering higher pay and medical insurance with no copayments. As one textile owner explained, "I had loyal long-term employees tell me they had no choice but to go to work for the city." This businessman moved his 80 jobs to the South.

As private-sector jobs fled the city, the role of government as primary employer only grew. The

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spending spree that began in Wagner's third term in 1961 (when the city first started running deficits sustained by borrowing) continued until 1975, when the city teetered on the edge of bankruptcy. During those years, the city's budget grew in real terms from $8.6 billion to $21.1 billion. As Charles Brecher and Ray Horton of the Citizens' Budget Commission have noted, the city's population fell by roughly 1 million over that period, so inflation-adjusted spending *per capita* nearly tripled. Between 1961 and 1975, spending by city government grew from about a tenth of the city's economic output to nearly a quarter. Brecher estimated that when the federal government's activities in New York are included, the local public sector generated 28 percent of all employment by 1975 and between 35 and 40 percent of all income.

New York, complained one wag, was "Eastern Europe kept afloat by Wall Street." Journalist Ken Auletta summed up the situation: New York's "experiment in local socialism and income distribution redistribut[ed] much of its tax base and jobs to other parts of the country."

Beginning with La Guardia's administration, and accelerating under Wagner, New York began to pay for one year's deficit by rolling the costs over into the next year. The vast accumulated debt eventually led the banks that had been lending money to the city to balk. The whole economic and social edifice begun in the New Deal and remodeled in the 1960s came crashing down in the mid-1970s. New York had bankrupted itself in pursuit of policies that both eroded the economic base and produced a poverty rate that, when adjusted for price levels, approached Mississippi's. In the 1970s, the high-water mark of federal transfer payments to the cities, New York accounted for an astonishing one-third of the increase in ghetto poverty nationally. This was a failure comparable to Soviet agriculture.

The city's mayor at the time of financial crisis, the hapless Abe Beame, blamed it on the banks, Republicans in the state senate, President Ford, and the press. But at no time did this man, an accountant and the city comptroller—that is, its financial watchdog—during the Lindsay years, who had been elected mayor as the guardian of fiscal probity in a city hungering for some post-Lindsay competence in government, ever acknowledge his own complicity. Instead, through his howls of victimization, he presented the spectacle of a New York, the home of Wall Street, that was at once powerful and pitiful.

The Ideas Behind Failure

The need for a social-service industry indigenous to the black community was first explained fully in the 1960s by the eminent psychologist Kenneth Clark, who wanted to build "a new culture designed to enable the ghetto to service itself." White social workers and their clients, he argued, were cut off from each other not only by different languages and by "psychological alienation" but, most importantly, by "different standards of behavior." He argued, "It may be that many lower-class persons who now refuse the role of client will accept the same therapeutic help if it is offered in a course of training as part of a position as paid or volunteer trainee."

Clark's ideas were extended and expanded in a path-breaking book, *New Careers for the Poor*, written in 1965 by social-service entrepreneurs Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman. In an earlier version of what we now call the "mismatch thesis," they started with the assumption that, because of automation, the poor of the 1960s were "unlike the poor of the past." They believed that the contemporary poor—and here they meant mostly racial minorities—had no chance to move up the job ladder as it existed and that it was therefore necessary to create a new job ladder. They envisioned "millions of new nonprofessional jobs and careers" and argued that creating the new jobs—home assistants, home health-care workers, Medicaid monitors, neighborhood coordinators, child advocates, parent-education coordinators, drug-treatment workers, and homemakers—would "greatly improve services for the poor by providing service by the poor."

Pearl, Riessman, and their colleagues from the New York magazine *Social Policy* developed a twofold critique of the New Deal state, which they said had mistakenly embraced both professionalism and the principle of the government as the employer of last resort. Requiring credentials prior to employment, they argued, eliminates the poor from many opportunities, as does an emphasis on "measured intelligence, aptitude, or delinquency records," since these "indices may reflect only the effect of an impoverished existence and therefore would not predict capabilities in a new context."

They hoped that new context would come when policy switched from the New Deal concept of the government as employer of last resort to the more enlightened 1960s policy of government as the employer of first resort. Like George Wiley and the welfare-rights advocates who assumed a guaranteed income would induce middle-class behavior, the theorists of the "new careers for the poor" assumed that giving people jobs would produce job-associated discipline and mobility. They insisted that the great virtue of these human-services jobs was that they would produce "much more employment per dollar invested" than the traditional public-works jobs that build infrastructure.

Where Failure Is Job One

In New York, bankruptcy never shook the assumptions of those who had invested deeply in and profited heartily from failure: the bankers and brokers who bought and sold city debt, the public-employee unions whose expansion had been financed by private-sector wages skimmed off as taxes, the politicians who relied for votes on those who worked for government directly or indirectly, the recipients of welfare or middle-

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class entitlements, the social activists who insisted that the city's welfare expansion had been a huge success, and the vast coterie of liberal academics and intellectuals who were convinced that New York was the vanguard of civilization. Indeed, the financial crisis only reinforced their hidebound sense of moral superiority, since it was taken as a sign of New York's vast compassion. New York had failed, it seemed, only by being too generous, too good. Better to whine about mean Republicans in the state legislature than to question the whole semi-religious monument upon which so much failure had been built.

The municipal government did not regard the breakdown of the family as a calamity, in part because breakdown supports a vast network of social workers for whom personal pathology is a job opportunity. It was far more than just social workers, though. John McKnight, a sociologist at Northwestern University, once catalogued the new cadre of social-service jobs in the city. His list included job trainers, street-gang workers, land-clearance experts, urban education specialists, environmental aides, urban environmental specialists, legal-assistance lawyers, library consultants, job locators, public-health physicians, parole consultants, public-housing officials, civil-rights watchdogs, employment counselors, prevention specialists, police trainers, urban-housing specialists, rat-abatement experts, vocational counselors, literacy specialists, drug counselors, defensible-space architects, and the administrators, auditors, lawyers, and consultants needed to support them all.

In this new alternative economy, the more dysfunctional the families, the better they served as "Keynesian multipliers" by generating immediate spending. It was this multiplier effect that Dick Morris (later the infamous adviser to President Clinton) stumbled onto in *Bum Rap on the Cities*, his liberal apologia for New York. "Eighty percent of the money spent on welfare in New York City," Morris thundered, "went to middle-class providers of [social and medical] services." For instance, it took one dollar to administer every two dollars of welfare distributed, he discovered. Only San Francisco was comparable, and only Washington, D.C., spent more. Worse yet, Morris believed, was the "profiteering" in health services, where Medicaid mills "ping-ponged" their clients around their group offices and ran up huge reimbursable expenses whether or not the treatments were needed. New York's Medicaid costs were twice that of Michigan and more than seven times that of Florida.

But Morris missed the most important reason for New York's Medicaid costs: A health-care program had been quietly turned into a jobs program. Between 1961 and 1971, municipal hospitals in New York City hired 4,000 additional employees while serving 20 percent fewer patients. The hospitals were an enormous patronage center. Medicaid supplied the city's legislators with gratitude and campaign contributions from providers, unions, clients, and the many workers, such as personal-care attendants, that the program paid to perform nonmedical work. Medicaid patronage helped make the city's legislators politically invincible.

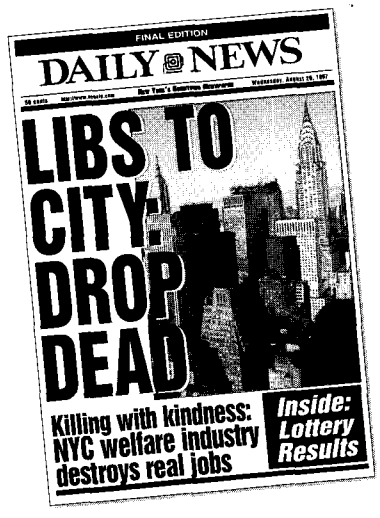
Grand Illusions

Not even the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s shook the reasoning behind New York's social welfare and Medicaid spending. New York, it was argued, was taking the federal government for all it was worth. If the feds were willing to match city and state dollars with a dollar of their own or sometimes two or three, why shouldn't New York grab this "free" money?

The trouble with pursuing this fool's gold was twofold: First, the city was required to match the "free" federal money with local money while rising taxes and declining services were driving business away and plunging the city into near bankruptcy. Second, although New York City and the state were receiving an inflow of social-services money, they were sending Washington far more than they received.

Between 1961 and 1971, municipal hospitals in New York City hired 4,000 additional employees while serving 20 percent fewer patients.

"New York is a liberal state," Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan once explained to me, "and you can't break out of the notion that anything you get from the federal government is sort of free. But all the formulas are the other way around." In 1984, the net flow of funds to Washington drained 2 percent of New York State's income; by 1994 that had risen to more than 4 percent. As the state's largest source of federal tax revenue, the city was the biggest loser.


FINAL EDITION
DAILY NEWS
LIBS TO CITY: DROP DEAD
Killing with kindness: NYC welfare industry destroys real jobs
Inside: Lottery Results

A consortium of bankers and labor leaders rescued the city in the mid-1970s by restructuring its debt, but the plan left untouched New York's wildly overextended government spending, its crumbling economic base, and its unbalanced relationship with Washington. After the rescue, Richard Ravitch, the chairman of the city's Economic Development Board, said that the

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biggest myth is that "things have fundamentally changed in the way the city does business. We haven't yet seriously examined the pension system, or the Health and Hospitals Corporation, or how federal dollars are used, or the range of services the city still performs."

The city cut its work force by 22 percent during the first three years of the fiscal crisis, yet total labor costs (amounting to half the city budget) decreased by only 1 percent, because salaries and pensions for the remaining workers continued to grow. The city reformed none of the labor practices that had driven it down—not the 35-hour workweek, nor the absence of medical copayments (which are common in the private sector), nor the ban on part-time employment, even for school bus drivers who worked for only a few hours in the mornings and afternoons.

Ed Koch, Beame's successor in office, was "the first mayor in memory to promise to do more for less," noted a member of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, which had been created to keep the city fiscally sound. He insisted that "the main job of city government is to create a climate in which private business can expand in the city to provide jobs on the public payroll." At first, he fought for civil-service reform. New York City in 1978 counted more than 39,000 civil-service job titles in 243 occupational groups, whereas the federal government has only 22 occupational groups. Due to union opposition, however, Koch couldn't get a single Democrat in the state assembly to sponsor a reform bill.

Halfway into his first term, Koch tried to leverage his popularity into a run for governor and gave up on reform. Fortunately for the city, in the short run at least, it was saved from a return to ruin by an economic boom on Wall Street. Koch found that he could use the new patronage inherent in "third-party government"—nonprofits paid by government to deliver social services—to win black and Latino political support. So while social-service spending both by government and by nonprofit contractors declined in most cities during the Reagan years, it kept on expanding in New York through boom and bust.

The budget for the city's social-service agencies grew from $3.6 billion in 1980 to $9.5 billion in 1994, a 260 percent jump, while the city's overall budget grew only by 140 percent, from $13.9 billion to $31.9 billion. Human-services contracts grew from $1 billion in 1985 to nearly $3 billion in 1993. Social-service jobs in the city more than doubled, from 62,000 in 1980 to 134,000 in 1994, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, while manufacturing jobs dropped from 450,000 in 1982 to 290,000 in 1992.

Today the city's social-service agencies are so numerous that they trip over each other to "service" clients. There are, for instance, so many AIDS prevention programs run by the city or the state that, as Heather Mac Donald of the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal* points out, the city can't even keep count. It estimates there are between 400 and 800, not including those run on a largely private basis by AIDS service organizations. There are so many programs to service teen mothers that in 1984 the state legislature authorized "a new category of social worker whose sole purpose was to guide teen welfare mothers to other services—in particular, to entitlements."

By tracing the hypothetical case of a teen welfare mother who had first received Healthy Start, Mac Donald describes the web of programs available to remedy the collapse of the family. Healthy Start is a case-management program to help young mothers receive Medicaid, WIC nutrition assistance, emergency assistance, rent supplements, or drug treatment, as needed. Besides workshops on self-esteem and life skills, Healthy Start also trains tenant organizers and encourages young mothers to consider careers in social services while advising current social-service providers on how to deliver "culturally sensitive services." If there is a danger of child abuse, the city can provide a housekeeper or some other support service. But suppose that, despite these early interventions, the child has emotional problems. The services available to such a child are summarized by Mac Donald as follows:

The city restructured its debt in the 1970s but left untouched wildly overextended government spending, a crumbling economic base, and an unbalanced relationship with Washington.

"If he starts disrupting classes and falling behind in school he will likely be placed in special education, where he will be assigned a school-based support team of psychologists and social workers. He many qualify for Supplemental Security Income disability payments for 'age inappropriate behavior.' But if he still suffers from 'adjustment disorder,' he may enter a 'home-based crisis-intervention' program. Social workers from five agencies will visit the child's home for eight weeks of intensive 'skills building,' parenting, and problem solving training for the family. If despite all this the child then robs someone, the child may be sent to the Family Ties program, another attempt at family preservation which takes juvenile delinquents who are 'at risk of placement and gives them and their families eight weeks of cognitive restructuring,' behavioral modification, anger management,

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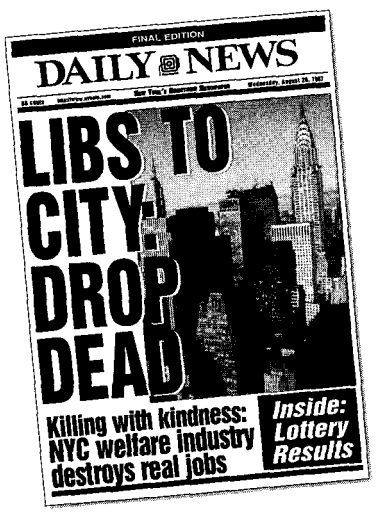
and rational-emotive therapy—in short the same kind of family preservation services that had already been given."

The upshot is, in rare instances, rehabilitation. Still, the success of failure is in the many jobs it sustains along the way.

The Success of Failure

In 1973, economist Charles Brecher concluded that the effects of anti-poverty investments were "mixed and modest." Today there is no longer any ambiguity. Despite unparalleled spending, poverty has grown; more importantly, it has deepened as shorter and shorter generations of dysfunctional family fragments reproduce themselves. The young women in family homeless shelters today, says Ralph Nunez of Homes for the Homeless, are younger, less educated, less experienced, and more damaged than those of five years ago. New York City spends more than one-fifth of all local social-service dollars in the country; it spends six times the local government average on Medicaid, welfare, homeless services, and foster care, while spending less than the national average on such traditional municipal functions as education, sanitation, parks, and roads.

More than 1 million city residents—one-third of the work force—work in government, health care, and social services.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The failure of anti-poverty programs has not ended the debate, however. Today advocates and their allies defend social spending as essential to the New York economy. And they're right. After consuming federal subsidies for 30 years, New York is hooked.

This is more than a metaphor. "The largest industry in my Community Board [on the Lower East Side] is drugs," says Charles King, the director of Housing Works, the largest provider of housing to HIV-positive homeless persons. "The second largest is social services." That combination is all to the good, he argues, because "social services bring benefits, bring jobs, because helping people who need help trickles down to the rest of community." Welfare, argues anti-poverty advocate Liz Krueger, is "woven into the fabric of the city economy." Food stamps sustain bodegas and grocery stores in low-income neighborhoods; rent subsidies sustain the landlords; Con Ed, the electric utility, depends on special low-income subsidies for utility payments; and jobs in the nonprofits and in Medicaid depend on public hospitals, which are the primary employers for many minorities. Concludes Kreuger, "Welfare is a revenue producer for the city." Writes the *Village Voice's* Wayne Barrett, "In the crassest of federal transfer terms . . . the poor and the subsidized attendants to the poor may be our primary cash crop."

By this logic, the absence of jobs and affordable housing are arguments for expanding social support rather than for asking whether prior policies helped produce those conditions. This is the economics of slow, continuous decline. Offering a partial answer to these arguments, Richard Schwartz, a senior adviser to Mayor Giuliani, noted that municipal hospitals have about three times as many workers per patient as the city's private hospitals. Our municipal hospitals, he explained, "are probably the most inefficient job-creation program known in America today." Schwartz described the steps of this program as follows:

"You take someone's dollar from a paycheck, you send it to Washington, Washington sends it to Albany. Albany sends it to New York City, the city matches it with 50 cents, Albany matches it with 50 cents. Then New York transfers that money to the corporate headquarters of the HHC [Health and Hospitals Corporation]. which then transfers the money to the HHC hospital. Then, finally, that money translates . . . into a [make-work] job."

The side effects of municipal Keynesianism are permanent price inflation in the city, a work force accustomed to make-work jobs and prepared only for other make-work jobs, and neighborhoods overrun with social-service facilities that destroy the quality of life. The ugly reality is that New York is trapped in more than one cycle of dependency. The city is dependent on an artificial economy that has grown out of control and prospered at the expense of the city's overall well-being.

"Transactions of Decline"

Social services have become both big business and the key to a politics that revolves around serving and expanding the social-service industry. In 1993 alone, New York City awarded 30,000 social-service contracts worth nearly $3 billion. State and federal contracts brought in another $4 billion to the social-service industry. It's a $7-billion-a-year industry that employs a growing percentage of the work force in the American city with the fewest workers proportional to the general population. As the city's job base shrank by 10 percent between 1984 and 1994, social-service jobs increased by 55,000, or 60 percent, to 150,000 total. Overall,

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publicly funded jobs in government, health care, and private social services account for one-third of all employment in Brooklyn and just under half in the Bronx. More than 1 million city residents—one-third of the work force—work in government, healthcare, and social services.

Described in *Crain's New York Business* as "the new Tammany," the social-service sector is represented politically by the two-fifths of the city council that either comes from or has strong ties to the industry and by the plurality of city representatives in the New York state assembly, where Democrats are in a near-permanent majority. The difference between the patronage of the old Tammany and the new Tammany is that the old dispensed jobs that were regularly accountable to election outcomes, and most of those jobs were in essential sectors like roads and sanitation. The new Tammany, by contrast, is organized around what writer Jane Jacobs described as "transactions of decline." Its many anti-poverty programs have largely replaced the functions once performed by the family.

Poverty programs that were created to bring minorities into the economic mainstream have over the years metastasized into an alternative economy. The supposed means to aid the poor, namely, social services, have become an end in themselves. New York no longer produces many private-sector entrepreneurs, but its many public-sector entrepreneurs have discovered that pathology, both social and medical, can be packaged, marketed, and sold like a commodity once the city, state, and federal governments have set themselves up as buyers.

A City in Denial?

New York today faces a challenge to its very self-concept. As voters decide soon whether to re-elect Giuliani to a second term, the social and political arrangements of the past 60 years are imperiled by both economic and political decline. New York is faced with not only welfare reform but a whole series of shocks to its make-work economy. In addition to welfare reform and the reduction of federal housing subsidies, the move to managed health care will curb the number of people who can be employed by New York State's oversized Medicaid program.

New York's entitlement economy can't survive the combination of federal budget cuts, cuts in the state tax rates (and, hence, revenues), and the city's spiraling budget deficits. Temporarily buoyed by Wall Street revenues, the Big Apple is on the brink of a wrenching transformation that will end the system of subsidies that defined New York City's social and political arrangements.

In the early years of the Giuliani administration, liberals cried wolf every time the ax was taken to a bloated agency. In the coming years, they may have more reason to duck. The danger to the fabric of the city is not only in cuts to the poor. According to the Citizens' Budget Commission, only 13 cents of every social-service dollar go to the needy; the rest goes to those who administer the programs. That vast army of anti-poverty and health-care delivery workers, sometimes only a few years away from poverty themselves, are the backbone of numerous lower-middle-class neighborhoods that will be hard hit by the cuts in social-service and health-care spending.

For New York, the old game of extracting an increasing share of a shrinking pie is at an end. Many residents, however, would still prefer slow decline to capitalism's "creative destruction."

According to the Citizens' Budget Commission, only 13 cents of every social-service dollar go to the needy; the rest goes to those who administer the programs.

If New York were better able to break free of the gravitational pull of its past, Giuliani would campaign not only to win the mayoral election in November but to force his Democratic opponents into a debate on how to face the unavoidable transformation ahead. And, with luck, such a debate would at last yield at least the outlines of a new social contract.

The contract would have to build on the trade-off between a declining public sector and a rising private sector. The possibilities are there. In a city that will probably be only 35 percent white by the turn of the century, job growth comes from small, often immigrant-owned, businesses that increasingly drive local employment.

If only the city could be made more business friendly, these companies may well remake Gotham for the next millennium. Even welfare reform, wrenching as it will be in the short run, offers some hope for the future. To the extent that the welfare rolls can be reduced, taxes can be cut, creating the possibility for business expansion and new jobs.

New Yorkers need to be reminded that theirs was a great commercial city before it was a welfare state, but this will be difficult in a town still basking in New Deal nostalgia. New Yorkers tend to remember the future even as they imagine a past that obscures the city's commercial roots.

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"If thou loan money to my people, to the poor by thee, thou shalt not lay upon him interest."
EXODUS, XXII, 24
The HEBREW FREE-LOAN ASSOCIATION of Pittsburgh
CENTENNIAL ✡ 1887 ÷ 1987
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Illustration by Ilene Winn-Lederer

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Judaism's *War on Poverty*

For centuries, the Jewish tradition of self-help has been rescuing the poor from dependency. So why have Jewish liberals abandoned it to embrace the welfare state?

By David G. Dalin

American Jews have traditionally maintained a deep commitment to just and compassionate social policies. They rightly believe that their religious tradition obliges them to care for the disadvantaged. As social workers, social policy activists, public officials, intellectuals, and voters, Jewish liberals in particular have enthusiastically embraced public-assistance programs and welfare benefits as an appropriate expression of the principle of *Tzedakah* (charity) that is so central to Jewish religious tradition.

Unfortunately, many of these Jewish liberals have profoundly misunderstood the biblical concept of *Tzedakah*. From biblical Israel to pre-New Deal America, the principles of individual self-help and communal self-sufficiency were the essence of both the Jewish view of charity and the evolving Jewish philanthropic tradition. In recent decades, however, many liberal Jewish defenders of government social programs have mistakenly equated *Tzedakah* with the principles and policies of the welfare state—policies that represent the very antithesis of the historic Jewish charitable tradition.

Rather than extol increased government spending and social welfare programs, American Jews should reaffirm the traditional Jewish religious preference for charitable lending over almsgiving, and recognize that it provides an especially effective model of communal self-help that other communities throughout America might emulate. As alternatives to dependency on public assistance or government welfare, interest-free loans can provide individuals with the means to achieve self-sufficiency in small businesses of their own, to attend college or professional school, and to tide people over in times of unemployment or illness.

Biblical Charity

The word *Tzedakah* derives from the Hebrew root *Zedek*, which denotes "righteousness" and "justice." The biblical laws of *Tzedakah* translated these principles into concrete religious and legal duties. In the Book of Deuteronomy, God commands the Israelites "to open thy hand unto the poor and needy." For Jews, this aid is not a voluntary act of kindness—it is obligatory.

According to the Book of Leviticus, farmers in

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biblical Israel were obligated to leave a corner of their fields for the poor to harvest themselves, and to leave the gleanings of their own harvest—the grain or fruits that had been left or forgotten—to the poor, the widowed, and the orphaned. The Hebrew Bible also mandates a special tithe, a sort of public tax on income, that pious Jews for centuries have scrupulously set aside for the poor.

The requirements of *Tzedakah* were expanded in later centuries by Talmudic and medieval Jewish scholars. The Talmud, the classic compendium of Jewish religious law completed in the sixth century, preserves a multitude of rabbinic statements

Judaism favors social policies that require the recipients of welfare benefits or public assistance to perform some kind of service.

and maxims that emphasize the pivotal role of *Tzedakah* in Jewish religious and communal life. One of the best known is Rabbi Assi's dictum that charity is "the equivalent of all the other religious precepts together."

By the time of the rabbinic sage Hillel, who lived in the first century, the "charity ethic" of rabbinic Judaism was so compelling that it was a "principal rule" that no pious Jew could live in a community that had no organization for public charity. This rule shaped Jewish life until the 20th century. The autonomous Jewish communities of medieval and modern Europe and the Jewish settlements of early America all expressed this religious principle of *Tzedakah* through synagogue-based charity and the creation of a network of independent charitable organizations.

The Jewish Principles of Self-Help

Although it has received surprisingly little scholarly attention, the principle of self-help has been one of the most influential concepts in the history of Jewish religious and political thought. The purpose of *Tzedakah*, the rabbis of the Talmud believed, was to help others help themselves.

Welfare for work. Traditional Jewish society never condoned its members' living continuously on welfare, in the sense either of Jewish communal public charity or of government payments, without working in return. Hence, for example, a communal regulation enacted by the Jewish Council of Padua, Italy, in 1603, stipulated that the recipients of charity would have to work. No beneficiary could evade this requirement. This edict has been cited as an important legal precedent by Jewish legal authorities over the centuries, suggesting that Judaism favors social policies that require the recipients of welfare benefits or any other public assistance to work or perform some kind of service.

The stigma of dependency. Jewish society came to regard dependency on public welfare as shameful. Talmudic laws were concerned with protecting the poor from the feeling of shame associated with dependency, emphasizing the dignity of the charity recipient. For instance, the Talmud relates that when Rabbi Yannai saw someone giving alms to a poor man in public, he reportedly said to him, "It would have been better not to give him anything at all, rather than give it in such a way that you put the poor man to shame." The need to preserve anonymity on the part of both donor and recipient of charity has always been central to Jewish religious thought.

Lending, not giving. Recognizing that charity and welfare programs might foster permanent helplessness, the rabbis of the Talmud considered the most meritorious form of dispensing charity to be the giving of an interest-free loan, which the recipient would presumably try to repay. The concept of charitable lending originated in the Hebrew Bible and was expanded upon in later years by Talmudic and medieval Jewish scholars. The books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy explicitly state that a Jew should not charge a poor Jewish person interest. A celebrated and oft-quoted Biblical verse from Exodus instructs, "If you lend money to My people, to the poor among you, do not act toward him as a creditor, exact no interest from him" (22:24). Building on this precedent, the rabbis of the Talmud frequently praised those who lend money as an alternative to almsgiving: "He who lends [money] is greater that he who performs charity and he who puts in capital to form a partnership with the poor is greater than all."

Like the rabbis of the Talmud, medieval Jewish religious authorities often advocated interest-free loans as a preventive form of charity, whereby the needy could obtain the capital required to become self-sufficient. Rashi, the preeminent 11th-century commentator on the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, explains that there is no shame involved in the act of borrowing, and that the wealthy may be inclined to lend greater amounts than they would give away.

Over the centuries, the preference for charitable lending over almsgiving became a fundamental principle of the Jewish philanthropic tradition. Indeed, this principle found its most famous and enduring formulation in the *Mishneh Torah*, the seminal guide to the laws and teachings of Judaism, completed by the great 12th-century Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides. In this important work, which codifies the religious laws and traditions relating to charity developed by the Jewish people over 2,000 years, Maimonides states that the highest form of charity was the giving of a loan or a job that helps someone to help himself. Throughout Jewish history, these loans were an in-

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tegral part of the economic and social structure of the organized Jewish community.

The shame of public assistance. Beginning in second-century Roman Palestine, Jewish leaders vocally opposed government-sponsored public charity and welfare programs. The scholar Alfred Kutzik has shown that Jews who availed themselves of Rome's public welfare were considered on a par with apostates, and faced communal sanctions ranging from rabbinical criticism to losing the right to testify in a Jewish court. Communal self-sufficiency remained a fundamental principle of Jewish philanthropy until the 1930s. In Jewish communities throughout the world, charitable institutions took sole responsibility for the needs of the Jewish poor, and opposed government intervention in their charity work.

The "Stuyvesant Promise"

The principle of self-sufficiency was reinforced by the original terms of Jewish settlement in America, which required Jews to "take care of their own." In September 1654, 34 years after the *Mayflower* had brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock, 23 Jews sailed into the harbor of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (now New York City). In so doing, they created the first Jewish community on North American soil.

Jewish settlement in New Amsterdam did not proceed smoothly at first. In contrast to the generally benevolent disposition of the Dutch toward the Jews of Holland, Governor Peter Stuyvesant adamantly opposed a permanent Jewish presence in his colony. Stuyvesant has the distinction of having been the first recorded anti-Semite in American history: He called the Jews "hateful enemies and blasphemers of Christ" who ought not to be allowed to "further infect and trouble this new colony." Within three weeks of their arrival, Stuyvesant wrote to his employers, the directors of the Dutch West India Company, to inform them that he would soon expel all Jews from New Amsterdam.

The colony's Jews appealed over his head to the authorities in Holland, relying upon their coreligionists in the mother country to lobby on their behalf. The company directors ordered Stuyvesant to permit the Jews to remain, on the condition that the poor among them shall not become public charges, that they "shall not become a burden to the company or to the colony, but be supported by their own [Jewish] nation."

Self-Help Among American Jews

American Jews met this stipulation to always "take care of their own." For nearly 300 years, until the 1930s, successive generations of American Jews fulfilled this promise to Peter Stuyvesant by building Jewish philanthropic and self-help organizations and by consistently opposing public welfare and government intervention in their private charity work. As it happens, they were also fulfilling the ancient teachings of the Jewish philanthropic tradition. For centuries, charitable funds and institutions within the Jewish communities sustained the indigent poor, the helpless aged, the sick, the widowed, the orphaned, and the transient.

Until the 1820s, American Jewish charity was centered in the synagogues, where individual congregations dispensed aid directly to the impoverished in their midst. In early 19th-century America, however, Jewish communities began to organize secular charitable organizations, often far removed from synagogue life, to cope with the growing needs of the poor. In a new "age of benevolence," charitable and other voluntary associations, in the Jewish community as elsewhere, proliferated all over the United States. Alexis de Tocqueville famously described this phenomenon when he traveled throughout America in the 1830s. Although Tocqueville did not visit Jewish benevolent societies or interview their leaders, his observations about America's charitable associations nicely captured a powerful theme in 19th-century American Jewish communal life.

Between the 1820s and the Civil War, Jews laid the foundations for many charitable institutions that still endure, including Philadelphia's Albert Einstein Medical Center, New York City's Mount Sinai Hospital and Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the earliest Jewish-sponsored orphanages in the country, and B'nai B'rith, a network of Jewish fraternal lodges. Beginning in the 1830s, German-Jewish immigrants to America founded a network of charitable institutions outside of the synagogue, including orphan asylums, hospitals, retirement homes, settlement houses, free-loan associations, and vocational training schools. These efforts attested to the determination of American Jews to care for the chronically sick and destitute within the Jewish community.

Medieval Jewish religious leaders advocated interest-free loans, whereby the poor could obtain the capital required to become self-sufficient.

Throughout the 19th century, and well into the 20th, Jews steadfastly opposed any and all government assistance and intervention in Jewish charity work. "So long as we are able to educate our youth in the Hebrew, send Passover bread or coal to suffering brethren, [and] preserve our own organizations for dispensing charity to our own poor," editorialized the *Occident*, the country's major weekly Jewish newspaper in 1858, "we should be proud to decline contributions from any fund that belongs to the public for public purposes."

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Jewish leaders such as Jacob Schiff, an influential Wall Street investment banker and one of the country's preeminent Jewish philanthropists until his death in 1920, maintained that Jews should do their utmost to keep other Jews from becoming public charges. A Jew would rather cut off his hand, Schiff once said, than apply outside of the Jewish community for charity or public assistance. Isaac Leeser, the editor and publisher of the *Occident*, the spiritual leader of Philadelphia's venerable Mikveh Israel Congregation, and one of the most influential American Jewish religious and community leaders of the 19th century, regularly declared that no Jews should live in the public almshouses, orphanages, and other state-supported charitable institutions of urban America. Poverty was unfortunate, Jewish leaders believed, but public welfare, which stigmatized both the recipient and his community, was scandalous.

The Spread of Charitable Lending

The Jewish religious tradition of lending money without interest to the needy took root in America during the 18th century. Jewish religious leaders in America, as in Europe, well understood Maimonides's dictum that interest-free loans were preferable to almsgiving, preserving as they did the dignity and self-respect of the recipients while providing them with the means to achieve self-sufficiency. After the American Revolution, for example, Mikveh Israel Congregation in Philadelphia distributed loans ranging from 10 to 20 pounds to help newcomers open businesses or to protect them from creditors in the difficult economic circumstances of the day. Haym Solomon, the well-known Jewish patriot, had extended interest-free loans during the American Revolution to both Jews and non-Jews, including Robert Morris and James Madison. In the decades that followed, Jews often cited his example to illustrate the centrality of charitable lending to the evolving American Jewish philanthropic tradition.

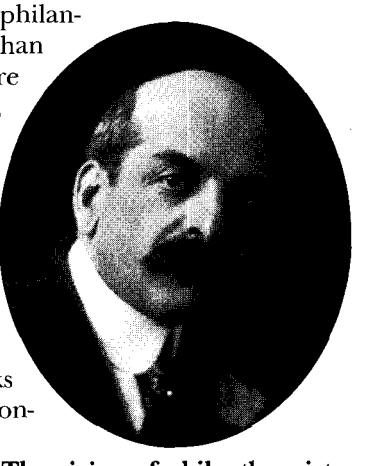
With the arrival of hundreds of thousands of East European Jewish immigrants in the late 19th century, Jewish communities throughout the United States established Hebrew free-loan societies. "Our aim is deeper than charity, better than asylums or almshouses, of more comfort than hospitals," stated the president of the Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York in 1921. "We provide the needy with the means to provide for and help themselves." Over a 30-year period, the New York Hebrew Free Loan Society, the largest of the many Jewish charitable lending societies, lent a total of $15 million to 400,000 borrowers.

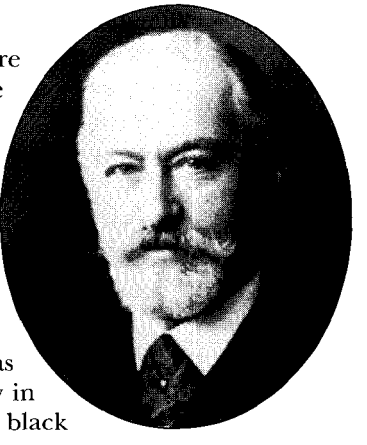
Despite the passing of the East European immigrant era of the 1880s to the 1920s, Hebrew free-loan societies have continued to exist and even flourish. In order to survive in contemporary America, the societies have designed innovative programs to provide Jewish institutions, homebuyers, and college students with interest-free loans. Indeed, the Hebrew free-loan concept is today making a comeback in Jewish charitable circles. In part this is due to the recent immigration of Russian Jews, who, like their own immigrant ancestors, need help in establishing themselves. Today, 42 Hebrew free-loan societies throughout the United States continue to provide economic assistance to the needy without the stigma of handouts.

The Jewish Philanthropists

The self-help principle also found characteristic expression in the charitable giving of Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Isidor and Nathan Strauss, Julius Rosenwald, and other preeminent Jewish philanthropists of late 19th- and early 20th-century America. Of these leading German-Jewish philanthropists of this era, Rosenwald was perhaps the most prominent and influential.

Rosenwald was the cofounder and chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and Co., which under his direction became the largest mail-order firm in the world. The legacy of Rosenwald's philanthropies, which would amount to more than $63 million during his lifetime (more than $750 million in today's dollars), would be felt for generations. Rosenwald's extraordinary philanthropic support for black education, as well as for a variety of specifically Jewish charitable causes, was predicated on the Jewish principle of self-help.





The giving of philanthropists such as Felix Warburg (above) and Jacob Schiff exemplified the self-help traditions of Jewish charity.

Rosenwald's greatest and most enduring philanthropic contribution was the building of public schools for blacks in parts of the rural South. Firmly convinced that charity would not ameliorate black poverty, but that vocational training and higher education could, Rosenwald passionately supported his friend Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self-help for blacks. At Washington's suggestion, Rosenwald decided to finance the building of schools for blacks throughout the South, where white authorities had refused to provide them with school facilities.

Rosenwald financed the program on a "matching" basis: He offered black communities a specific sum for the construction of a small schoolhouse if its local patrons would match it in money, materials, or labor. He insisted on this arrangement "so that Blacks would not think of the program as charity but would participate intimately in funding their own education." By asking black

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communities and the beneficiaries themselves to contribute, Rosenwald stimulated local philanthropy and investment. Compassion and almsgiving alone, cautioned Rosenwald, would not ameliorate poverty as effectively as strategies of communal self-help.

After a few years, Rosenwald was sufficiently pleased with the progress of his Southern School Building Program, as it came to be called, that in 1916 he agreed to pay one-third of the cost of all additional schools for black children. Between 1917 and his death in 1932, he was responsible for the construction of 5,357 public schools serving 663,615 black children throughout the rural South. By 1932, more than half the black population of the rural South owed their education to Rosenwald schools.

Rosenwald's advocacy of self-help for both Jews and blacks went hand in hand with a profound distrust of the liberal policies and programs of the welfare state. As a staunch Republican, he felt they fostered dependency upon government. Prior to the New Deal, the suggestion that their poor might look to government for public assistance, or that Jewish charities might actively seek to become beneficiaries of government aid would have been virtually unthinkable among Jewish leadership circles.

At the suggestion of his friend Booker T. Washington (above, right), philanthropist Julius Rosenwald (left) helped blacks in the South build thousands of schools for themselves.

Yet Jewish community leaders and social-work executives began to advocate precisely such ideas during the 1930s and 1940s, provoking an unprecedented and emotional debate about the community's obligation to care for its own members.

Self-Sufficiency Undermined

The Great Depression and the New Deal presented the first serious challenge to the principle of communal self-sufficiency. One prominent Jewish social-work executive characterized 1933 as the year that "the Jewish community in the United States, for the first time in its history, has been forced to transfer to the state primary responsibility for relief to its dependents."

Most Jewish leaders, lay and professional, supported this radical shift, arguing for the necessity of Jewish acceptance of public relief and pointing with pride to the national role that Jews were playing as "architects of the welfare state." Isaac Max Rubinow, one of the most prominent Jewish social-work executives of the era and an architect of the New Deal Social Security Program, encouraged his colleagues to abandon the tradition of Jewish self-sufficiency as a parochial and antiquated relic. Other Jewish social-work leaders argued that American Jews had a "distinct obligation" to support the New Deal's ever-expanding welfare programs and relief efforts; as one said at the time, "The recognition that unemployment relief is a job for the Government and [for] Washington, rather than for private Jewish charity, is a major step forward."

Beginning in the 1930s, the secular liberal ideals of the Jewish social-work profession had a profound influence on Jewish philanthropic life. Although some leaders at this time expressed concern about public relief undermining private Jewish philanthropy, a growing number of Jewish social workers and community leaders repudiated the Stuyvesant Promise and championed active Jewish participation in the emerging welfare state. By the mid-1970s, Jewish charities had become dependent upon government funds, with government funding accounting for as much as 66 percent of the budgets of several major Jewish charitable institutions.

The continuing liberal Jewish embrace of the principles and policies of the welfare state represents a radical and profound departure from centuries of Jewish tradition, and a repudiation of the enduring religious and communal principles upon which this tradition had for so long been based.

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Learning-Free Zones

By Chester E. Finn Jr.

Five reasons why school reforms disappear without a trace.

Nearly two decades have passed since the United States discovered that its primary and secondary public schools are mediocre. So why are the prospects for real improvement so dim?

To be sure, the agenda for education reform brims with good, "conservative"—I would call them "radical"—ideas. More than 700 "charter" public schools are operating in the 28 states that permit them; upwards of three dozen communities have liberated poor youngsters from bad schools with privately funded low-income scholarships; other communities are experimenting with unlimited public-school choice, publicly funded vouchers, and privatized management of public schools.

Yet the vast majority of U.S. schoolchildren still attend schools untouched by these ideas. President Clinton has set a target of 3,000 charter schools by century's end, but their benefits would be swamped by the remaining 80,000 noncharter public schools. Two dozen more communities may have adopted vouchers or scholarships by then, yet 99 percent of American youngsters won't have access to them.

At the same time, however, American education is awash in faddish innovations that regularly sweep through the profession like tropical storms: "whole-language reading," "constructivist math," "mixed-ability grouping," "multi-age grouping," "multiculturalism," and so on. This faddishness gives the education system the appearance of ceaseless change. Yet few of these innovations improve academic performance. And nearly all of them are being undertaken within the organizational framework of a rigid, governmentalist monopoly centered on an archaic concept of schooling, a concept developed for a 19th-century agrarian society with little technology and scant awareness of how children learn.

Advocates for the bold reforms America needs must confront an unpleasant truth: We have a pretty clear understanding of what would work better, yet old-fashioned bureaucratic monopolies continue to insulate most U.S. public schools from change. Of all the structural and political obstacles embedded in today's system, five are particularly deadly:

1. The education system does not reward risk-taking

If we want educators to display the high-wire, high-intensity, round-the-clock dedication of securities traders, perhaps we should expect to pay Wall Street salaries. But compensation isn't the whole story. Security, predictability, and congenial relations with peers are more important to most educators than rigor, innovation, and entrepreneurship. Education colleges carefully nurture a "progressive" pedagogical philosophy that values self-esteem and respect for differences over intellectual distinction and competitiveness.

Indeed, the surest way for an educator to get in trouble is to propose change. Teachers too easily run afoul of their principals, their school boards, their students' parents, even their own peers. Teachers who receive prizes for classroom excellence, or who go to the considerable trouble of earning "board certification," often find themselves scorned as "rate-busters" by their colleagues.

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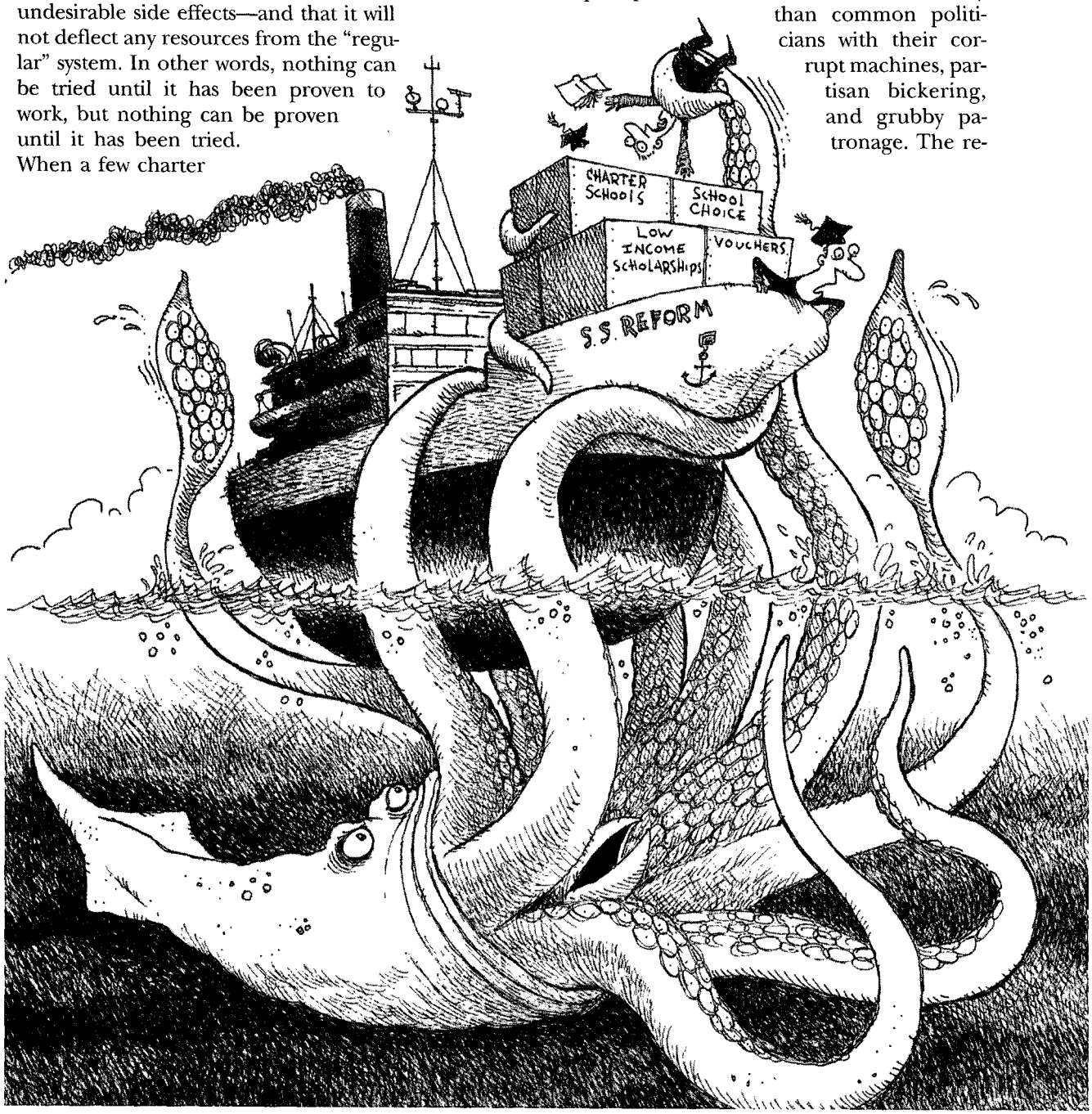
The founders of a charter school in Massachusetts faced intimidation and harassment by public-school employees so severe that several of them left town. And the higher one's rank, the greater the risks of risk-taking. Public-school teachers typically earn job tenure after three years, but urban school superintendents, especially reformers, are lucky to last that long. One- and two-year contracts are becoming increasingly common.

Although schools eagerly embrace new fads in classroom technique and curricula, authentic reforms are subject to far more stringent criteria than is the status quo. Would-be reformers are immediately challenged to prove that their proposal has been fully tested and evaluated, that it will have no undesirable side effects—and that it will not deflect any resources from the "regular" system. In other words, nothing can be tried until it has been proven to work, but nothing can be proven until it has been tried. When a few charter schools fail in California and Arizona, for example, or private management firms lose their contracts for public schools in Baltimore and Hartford, boosters of the status quo assert that these innovations have now been demonstrated to be worthless and must never be tried again.

2. The system resists oversight from elected officials and the public

America's elected officials exert far greater leverage over their welfare, sanitation, and transportation services than over their public schools. This curious situation stems from the late 19th-century conviction that public-spirited lay boards and expert professionals were more trustworthy than common politicians with their corrupt machines, partisan bickering, and grubby patronage. The re-



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sult was an independent system of governance, consisting of state and local boards of education that employ licensed educators to run the schools.

Over time, the public-education system has constructed its own separate political arena that is exceedingly hard for outsiders to penetrate or influence. Although the inhabitants of this arena depend for their funding upon the local town council or the state legislature, and must obey elaborate state education codes, they usually shape even these rules through intensive lobbying and campaigning. School-board candidates, for example, are less likely nowadays to be able, disinterested laymen and more likely to be people beholden to education unions and other producer interests.

Consumers and reformers alike are crippled by the lack of clear standards and measures of performance.

Political decisionmaking has passed into the hands of so-called "stakeholders" in the system, who negotiate their respective interests behind closed doors. These stakeholder groups—teachers, coaches, librarians, curriculum directors, guidance counselors, textbook and test publishers, and hundreds of others—have worked out their own *modus vivendi*. In order to divide up the resource pie (and to demand that it be enlarged), they band together to accommodate each other's vital interests and to repel intruders. Each faction gets its own "categorical" programs, its own budget, its own administrators. Educators hamper reform efforts by nurturing the belief that every stakeholder group must assent to any change in advance. This, of course, is a perfect prescription for maintaining the status quo.

This arrangement defies both the public interest and the priorities of students and parents. That explains why, for example, immigrant parents who want their children to quickly learn English have such trouble extricating them from the clutches of "bilingual" educators, who set the rules so as to expand and solidify their fief. It explains why superintendents and school boards fight the introduction of charter schools, which would eat into their enrollments and budgets and loosen their control. It explains why U.S. public schools employ a higher percentage of nonteaching personnel than those in any other Western industrialized country. Most important, it explains why so many failing youngsters can attend school for years while the adults around them neglect even to learn their names, let alone shoulder responsibility for their education.

This alliance of stakeholders protects its intricate balance of power from outsiders. Consider Jersey City, New Jersey, where a reform-minded mayor named Bret Schundler vowed a few years ago to create a school-voucher program. For a time he seemed to enjoy the backing of Christine Todd Whitman, the state's popular GOP governor, while PepsiCo agreed to help underwrite development of the city's voucher plan. But the governor has since retreated from the voucher front, and the company backed off after some of its vending machines were broken and the teachers union threatened to boycott the firm's restaurants and products.

Teachers unions dominate school-board elections by recruiting and financing their own candidates. Union members chair the education committees of more and more state legislatures. Candidates for mayor, governor, and even president strike deals that accommodate the interests of influential education stakeholders. Many of those interests (such as teacher certification, tenure, and mandatory collective bargaining) have been codified into laws that are now difficult to repeal.

Education stakeholders exert a firm grip upon elected policymakers. For the most part, they do this by courting allies in the Democratic party. A huge percentage of the delegates to recent state and national Democratic conventions have been members of teachers unions. School-employee unions are often the biggest contributors to political campaigns and the shrewdest and most dogged lobbyists in the anterooms of power. Union political action committees (PACs) raise and donate millions of dollars to political campaigns and can muster platoons of teachers to operate phone banks and distribute leaflets.

If vouchsafing their interests means manipulating Republicans instead of Democrats, however, they will adjust quickly. This recently happened in New York City and New Jersey, and it is happening more and more often in states (such as those in the Southwest and the Rocky Mountain region) with Republican legislative majorities. The recent defeat of voucher bills in the Arizona legislature, for example, can be blamed on a handful of Republicans whose re-election depends on avoiding vigorous opposition. Such people are easily influenced by union leaders and local school-board members.

More minefields await the intrepid education reformer who tries to circumvent the legislative process and appeal directly to voters. In states where initiatives and referenda are frequently employed to make policy changes, the education establishment will throw immense sums of money and countless hours of "volunteer" time into campaigns to defeat unwanted reforms. This power is evident everywhere from local votes on taxes and education budgets to recent school-voucher and charter-school initiatives in California, Colorado, Washington, and Oregon.

The removal of education policy from the tug of conventional politics has also widened the chasm between the educational priorities of the

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American public (safety, discipline, and the learning of basic skills) and those of the education establishment. This is beginning to change as more political candidates campaign on education issues, but newly elected mayors or governors—or presidents—with education reform agendas will have difficulty fulfilling their promises to change a system over which they have so little control.

3. The system is unaccountable for failure

Consumers and reformers alike are crippled by the absence of clear standards, goals, and measures of performance. At almost every level, American education lacks specific objectives and standards that describe what children are expected to learn. Without reliable measures of performance in relation to precise objectives, it is impossible to hold anyone accountable for success or failure.

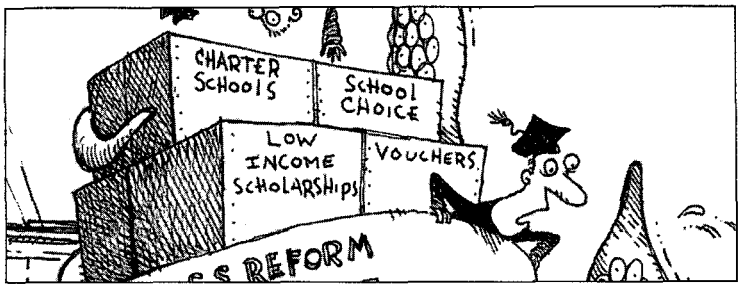
Nearly all reports on the performance of the education system are issued by the people who run it. There is no education counterpart to the independent corporate audit. Most educators are averse to tests, comparisons, and competition, because they want the public to believe that the system is succeeding. Hence they shun clear, timely, reliable information about how schools and students are performing. California did revamp its "whole language" approach to reading instruction after the state's reading scores dropped. But such events are rare.

Here's how former New Jersey governor Tom Kean described his experience: "As part of my blueprint for reform, I proposed a much tougher test [than the minimum competency exam then in use in New Jersey], this time to include writing skills that would be mandatory for high school graduation. The test measures basic ninth-grade-level skills. . . . The initial reaction of educators to the next test was extremely negative. . . . Educators lobbied me strenuously to delay the test, or better, to cancel it. A close look at the argument shows an insidious tendency to put the image of schools above the welfare of the students."

The education system still measures its performance primarily by inputs, not by results. Its bureaucratic management structure insists that schools comply with uniform rules and policies and track resources with precision. But it has no capacity to encourage and reward good teaching, to weed out incompetent principals, or to ensure that children actually learn.

The system shuns performance standards so that no one can be held accountable for failure. If no one is ultimately responsible, everybody can blame someone else for whatever isn't working well. *The teacher* says she is required to use this textbook, isn't allowed to discipline that disruptive youngster, and doesn't have time to provide individual tutoring for the exceptional child. *The principal* claims that the teacher was foisted upon him, that textbooks are chosen by the state or local textbook committee, that the school board will not allot extra funds for tutors, and that the courts have tied his hands with respect to discipline. *The superintendent* explains that the principal has tenure (and his wife's cousin is an alderman). *The school board* is adamant that disabled and disadvantaged children receive all the tutorial help even if that leaves none for gifted youngsters. *The board chairman* says he is following the superintendent's recommendation in this matter and, in any case, is bound by federal and state laws.

The governor observes that the schools of this state are locally controlled and that the teachers union and the school board association helped elect him. *The legislator* is terrified that, if he presses hard to change the law, he will antagonize either the black caucus or the religious fundamentalists. Besides, the state faces a budget crisis and



The consumers of public education are far more numerous than its producers, but cannot influence the decisionmaking process.

the extra money to do anything new must come from Washington. *The congressman* sends back a polite form letter indicating that your views will be carefully considered the next time pertinent legislation comes before Congress. From *the federal Department of Education*, there is no reply at all for six months; then you receive a pamphlet entitled "How To Help Your Child Improve in Math."

4. The system spends too little of its resources in the classroom

The percentage of the public-school budget devoted to "regular instruction" declined from 61 percent in 1960 to 46 percent in 1990. The system channels almost all of its money into salaries, treats every change as an added cost, and has little freedom to substitute one use of funds for another.

A simple calculation makes the point more vividly. A classroom of 24 children accounted for an average total public expenditure of about $150,000 in the 1995-96 school year. Yet the average public-school teacher costs not quite $50,000,

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including benefits. That suggests that some two-thirds of the public funds spent on behalf of those youngsters are not going to their primary teacher. Where, then, is it going? Nearly all is locked up in salaries to specialists, administrators, and non-teaching personnel and kept there by collective bargaining and bureaucratic inertia. Hence very little of it is available to replace the coal furnace, fix the leaky roof, extend the school year, or equip the building with networked computer systems.

Anyone who proposes a new idea is challenged to find extra money for it, since cutting elsewhere is unimaginable. When money is tight, class sizes may grow. But perish the thought that an unnecessary administrator, unwanted bilingual program, or inept library aide would be let go or replaced by a bit of modern technology.

Once a radical structural change is introduced, the budget and its many dependents continue to fight back. When Educational Alternatives Inc. contracted to manage the Hartford school system, where enrollment had been shrinking for years, it stumbled over its proposal to dismiss unneeded employees and use the money saved to upgrade the system's technological resources. Local unions and politicians cried foul, and E.A.I. lost its contract.

5. The consumers of education are no match for the system

Education reformers come and go, but the permanent beneficiaries of the status quo work at their ownership every day, year in and year out. Let's say an uncommonly zealous governor may succeed in enacting an unusually bold reform over the objections of unions and school boards. But in time he turns his attention to prisons, nursing homes, or economic development. His term ends. A few key allies in the legislature lose or retire. His successor arrives, perhaps with the help of voters aggrieved by the inconvenience of the change in its early stages of implementation. Early evaluations, probably made by education professors, show that the reform did not work perfectly as originally conceived. Proposals are mooted to revise it, in order to save money, to make it work better, to foster equity—whatever. Establishment interests wait for the opportunity to slow down, weaken, or repeal key portions of the change they do not like. They have elephantine memories and the fiscal and political clout to reward friends, punish foes, and sway public attitudes. All this happened, for example, to the "career ladder" (i.e. merit pay) plan for teachers that was the centerpiece of Lamar Alexander's education reform plan when he was governor of Tennessee, which has been steadily eroded and diluted ever since.

The consumers of public education are far more numerous than its producers, but they have no viable means of influencing the decisionmaking process. They have no organization to rival the teachers unions or textbook publishers. They rely upon their elected representatives, who are more apt to owe debts to the unions than to the diffuse population of families with children attending public schools. They are further handicapped by the difficulty most people have visualizing any schools or school systems that differ fundamentally from the ones they attended as children. Consumers, too, are rarely eager to change their own long-established routines, at least without compelling reasons. (This explains, for example, the staunch resistance in many communities to a year-round school calendar, despite evidence that it raises achievement and saves money.)

The Honeymoon's Over

The education establishment cleverly manipulates Americans' strong affection for the idea of public education while setting an impossible standard for reform proposals. Recent surveys by the Public Agenda Foundation, however, indicate that this affection is fading. More and more Americans believe that public schools are doing a poor job of providing safety, discipline, basic academic skills, and character development. These findings prompted one perceptive teacher union chief, the late Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers, to warn his members that "a majority of Americans believe that the public schools cannot be counted on to provide the things they consider most important in an education. . . . [T]he schools have a window of opportunity to regain public support. If that is ignored we will see the collapse of the system."

A journey of a thousand miles must, of course, begin with a single step. There's no doubt in my mind that the nation's education system has taken that step—and that we're headed in the right direction. But are our shoes sturdy enough to carry us the distance? And how many tens of millions of youngsters will be lost as we slowly make our way to a far-off destination?

The education establishment cleverly manipulates Americans' affection for public education while setting an impossible standard for reforms.

Chester E. Finn Jr. *is the John M. Olin Fellow at the Hudson Institute and the president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation. From 1985 to 1988, he served as an assistant U.S. secretary of education. This article is adapted from* New Schools for a New Century: the Redesign of Urban Education *(Diane Ravitch and Joseph P. Viteritti, eds.), to be published in September by Yale University Press.*

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CPR for Tax Reform

After 25 years of efforts to lower rates and simplify the tax code, tax reformers have little to celebrate. Three experts offer their thoughts on the past, present, and future of fundamental tax reform.

By William A. Niskanen, Grover Norquist, And Grace-Marie Arnett

The Tax Revolt That Failed

William A. Niskanen

The tax revolt that began 20 years ago has so far been a failure. For all the sound and fury over tax cuts, the average rates of federal, state, and local taxation are slightly higher than 20 years ago. True, top marginal rates have fallen steeply, even after accounting for the significant increases of the Bush and Clinton years. But otherwise the modern tax-limitation movement has achieved few of its objectives. This failure continues with the modest and incoherent tax reductions included in the 1997 federal budget agreement.

The modern tax-limitation movement was born in late 1972 when Governor Ronald Reagan convened a small group, of which I was a member, at his Century Plaza office in Los Angeles. Reagan observed that, notwithstanding the recent landslide re-election of a Republican president, conventional political processes would be insufficient to restrain the growth of government spending. Indeed, even real spending in Reagan's own state was growing at a record rate during his tenure as governor of California. He asked us to consider an un-

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conventional measure—a constitutional amendment to limit the spending and taxing authority of the state government.

A committee of his advisers drafted a ballot initiative for a state constitutional amendment, called Proposition 1, to limit the spending and taxing authority of the state of California. The first political tests of these proposals were discouraging. Proposition 1 lost narrowly in 1973, and a similar amendment was defeated in Michigan in 1976. The first "supply-side" tax-cut proposal, offered as a substitute for President Carter's fiscal stimulus proposal, was defeated in Congress in 1977.

The breakthrough for tax limitation came in 1978, when Tennessee passed a general spending and tax-limitation amendment. California voters then approved Proposition 13, an amendment that substantially reduced local property tax rates while also, unfortunately, centralizing school authority and financing. Soon thereafter, Michigan voters approved a general spending and tax-limitation amendment. In later years, similar amendments were approved in six other states.

Breakthroughs in federal fiscal policy also occurred in 1978. Congress approved a reduction in the capital-gains tax rate over the opposition of the Carter administration. The Senate also approved a measure that combined a 30 percent cut in income-tax rates with a general limit on federal spending; it withered under Carter's veto threat. The annual report of Congress's bipartisan Joint Economic Committee endorsed this new supply-side fiscal policy in both 1979 and 1980. In 1980, the Senate Finance Committee approved a tax measure very similar to that proposed by Reagan, then a presidential candidate. A bipartisan consensus for the tax cuts later proposed by President Reagan formed before he was even inaugurated.

The growing tax revolt led to the Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) of 1981, the first major reduction in federal tax rates since the Kennedy years. This legislation reduced federal income tax rates from a range of 14 to 70 percent to a range of 11 to 50 percent, indexed the personal exemption and tax brackets for inflation, and included a complex package of investment incentives.

Since 1981, however, Congress has enacted six major changes in federal tax policy, and here the record is mixed. Most of the investment incentives in ERTA were reversed in 1982, 1984, or 1986. The social-security legislation of 1983 accelerated a scheduled increase in payroll tax rates. The major tax-reform legislation in 1986 broadened the tax base, increased the personal exemption, and set two income-tax rates of 15 and 28 percent. After that, however, the pattern of rate reductions reversed. President George "no new taxes" Bush signed a 1990 tax bill that increased the top rate to 31 percent. And the Clinton tax legislation of 1993 increased the top income-tax rate to 39.6 percent and, by broadening the Medicare tax base to all earnings, increased the top rate on earnings to 42.5 percent.

All this legislative turmoil has made little difference to taxpayers. As Figure 1 illustrates, average tax rates as a percentage of net national output

The "Tax Revolt" That Wasn't

After 25 years, overall levels of taxation are as high as ever. As Figure 1 shows, taxes as a share of the nation's economic output of goods and services have remained essentially flat. A drop in the rate of federal tax collection over the years has been offset by countervailing increases in state and local tax rates (Figure 2).

Figure 1. Average rate of taxation by level of government (as a percentage of national output)

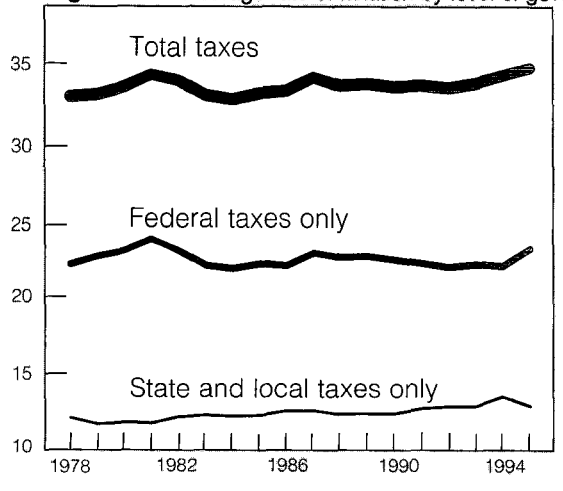
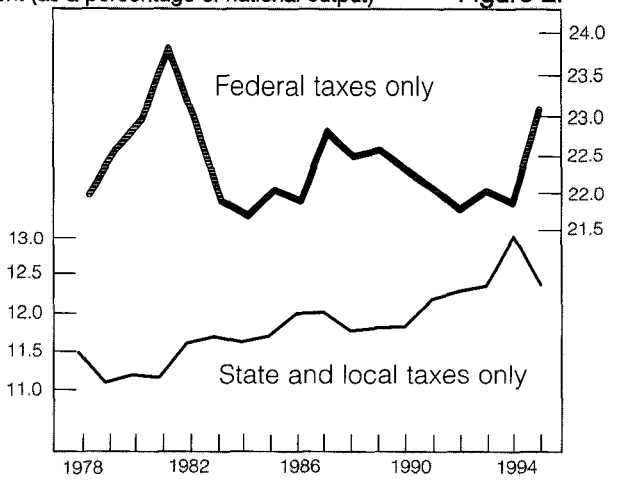


Figure 2.



Source: Cato Institute. Tax rates measured as share of net national output (goods and services minus depreciation).

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of goods and services have been remarkably stable since 1978. A much finer scale (Figure 2) is necessary to identify any significant trend or variation. Average federal tax rates have risen and fallen with little apparent trend; most of the variation has been due to changes in the employment rate and (before 1985) to the inflation rate. Contrary to the charge that the Reagan tax cuts eroded the federal revenue base, the average federal tax rate was slightly higher in 1989 than at a comparable stage of the business cycle in 1979.

The average state and local tax rates, in contrast, have been less variable but have increased slightly over this period. Overall, the average total tax rate has stayed essentially the same over this period, in part because the average *federal* tax revenues tend to move in inverse, cyclical relation to average *state and local* tax revenues.

The composition of taxes has also not changed very much. Figure 3 illustrates the average tax rates (also as a percentage of net national output) by major type of tax. Average individual income-tax rates are about the same as at the beginning of this period, although lower than the inflation-affected rates of the early 1980s. Average payroll-tax rates increased by more than 1 percentage point of national output by 1988 and have been roughly stable since then. The sum of all other types of taxes (on corporate income, sales, property, excises, and so on) has been a roughly stable share of national output over this period; some decline in the average corporate and property tax rates have been offset by an increase in the average sales tax rate.

The most important change in taxes during this period has been the structure of federal tax rates on labor income (Figure 4). The top marginal tax rate was sharply reduced by both the 1981 and 1986 tax laws, though it has increased by 14.5 percentage points since 1990. For lower-income workers subject to both the payroll tax and the individual income tax (but ineligible for the earned income tax credit), however, the effective marginal tax rate has risen by about 4 percentage points. For the five years from 1988 through 1992, the marginal federal tax rate on labor income was roughly flat for all brackets (except for a fairly small group of middle-income taxpayers subject to both the payroll tax and the 28 percent income tax rate). The tax revolt, in other words, did reduce substantially the progressivity of federal tax rates, but even this gain has been mostly offset in recent years.

Some of my friends suggest that the tax limitation movement has at least succeeded in stopping the *growth* of taxation, even if it hasn't led to actual reductions. Maybe so, but that is a difficult hypothesis to test. Maybe the reduction in marginal tax rates makes the whole effort worthwhile, but again that is difficult to test because economic growth is also affected by a number of other conditions. In fact, productivity growth during this period, at least as conventionally measured, has been much lower than during the 1960s, so the economic advantage of lower marginal tax rates has been insufficient to offset other conditions that hurt productivity growth. But this analysis is complicated, because our conventional measure of output understates productivity growth.

Four major lessons can be learned from the failure of the tax revolt over the past 20 years:

Tax cuts are unlikely to last unless they are matched by a reduction in government spending. The failure to reduce government spending relative to national output is the primary reason for the remarkable stability of average tax rates over the past 20 years. Any substantial tax cut should be made contingent on a roughly equal reduction in government spending.

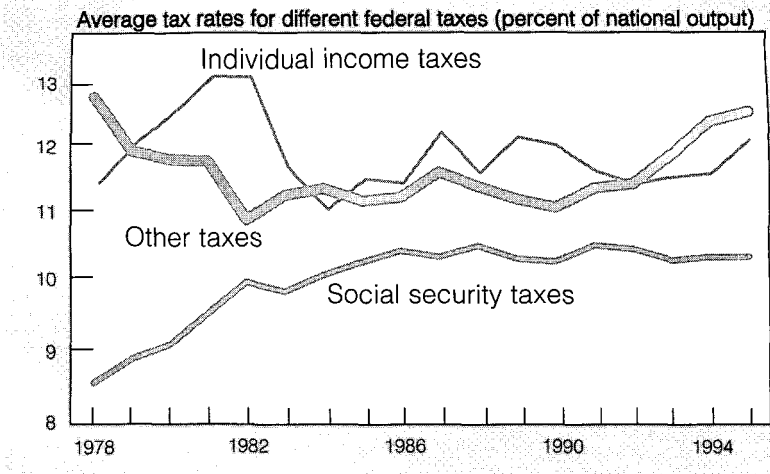
Tax cuts do not necessarily lead to reduction in government spending. The issue of whether government spending rises or falls in response to a re-

The failure to reduce government spending relative to national output is the primary reason for the stability of average tax rates.

Figure 3.

The structure of taxes has remained stable . . .

Since 1978, the frequent and noisy battles over cutting federal income tax rates have obscured the slight rise of social security and other payroll taxes.



Source: Cato Institute. Tax rates measured as share of net national output (goods and services minus depreciation). "Other taxes" include corporate, Medicare, etc.

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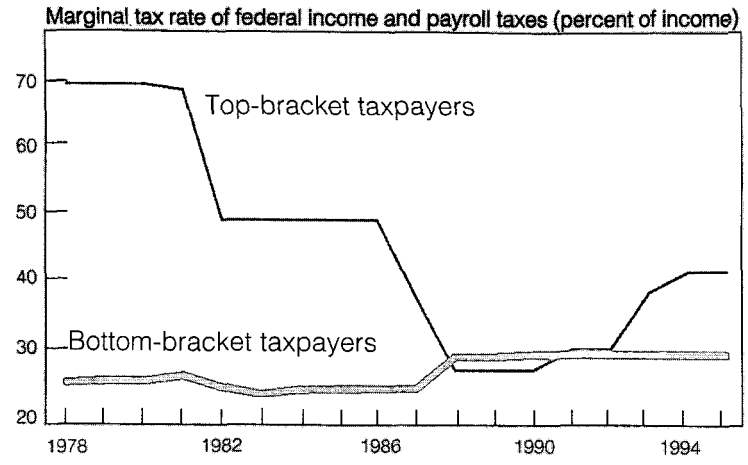
Figure 4.

. . . while the progressivity of taxes has shrunk.

One victory for tax reform has been a flattening of marginal tax rates since 1981. Recent hikes in income taxes for upper-income brackets, however, have undone some of those gains.



Source: Cato Institute

duction in tax revenues has been debated and tested for this whole period without resolution. Nobel laureates Milton Friedman and James Buchanan are on opposite sides of this issue, and the empirical studies are also mixed. My own recent statistical estimates conclude that changes in real total federal spending between 1949 and 1996 were independent of prior changes in real total federal revenues. If tax cuts do not reduce government spending, of course, and end up increasing the budget deficit, they shift part of the burden of current spending to the next generation.

Tax cuts do not necessarily increase economic growth. The net economic effect of a tax cut depends on the type and rate of the tax, the type and level of spending that is reduced, and whether government subsequently alters its borrowing; the net effect may help or hinder growth. To increase economic growth, we should reduce those marginal tax rates that have the largest negative effect per dollar of tax revenue—combined with a reduction of spending for those programs with the lowest marginal value.

A narrow focus on tax cuts is not a sufficient economic program for the Republican party. Sooner or later, there is no way to avoid taking a position on what types of taxes to cut, what spending programs should be reduced, under what conditions a deficit may be appropriate, and the variety of other policies that affect the economy. A general bias in favor of tax cuts is commendable, but Republican politicians are often perceived as "Johnny One Note"s, proposing some type of tax cut to address almost any problem. The incoherent mishmash of the tax cuts in this year's budget deal is only the latest example of this problem.

The trivial tax cuts in the 1997 bipartisan budget agreement make it clear that the tax revolt has run out of steam at the federal level. But the tax revolt is reviving in the states. Almost all of the state constitutions require that the operating budget be balanced, and a large number of states now have a constitutional or statutory tax limitation. Increasing concern about interstate competition, and prodding by the Cato Institute's annual "fiscal report card," has recently led some of the highest tax states such as New York to reduce their tax rates. Twenty-five governors have proposed net tax cuts for the coming fiscal year. If this momentum is to be sustained in the states, and returned to the federal government, it will have to be accompanied by serious efforts to reduce government spending.

William A. Niskanen *is the chairman of the Cato Institute and a founder of the National Tax Limitation Committee. He was a member of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers.*

Tax Reform at the Grass Roots
Grover Norquist

In the 1970s Representative Jack Kemp and Senator Bill Roth, flanked by the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page and leading neo-conservative intellectuals, marched supply-side tax cuts through the institutions of the Republican party. In 1980, Ronald Reagan, who had run for president in 1976 as a budget cutter, based his winning campaign on a "tax cut of 33 percent."

It has now been 16 years since Republicans have delivered any tax cuts at the national level. Between now and then there have been many reversals and betrayals: the 1982, 1983, and 1984 tax hikes, Bush's broken pledge in 1990, and the failure to stop the Clinton tax increase in 1993.

Now the tax revolt is gathering national momentum again. A Republican Congress is about to pass a modest tax cut that a Democratic president has promised to sign into law. And four decisions by the Republican leadership this year have put the tax issue front and center as a winning issue for the future.

The first was the announcement by Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott that the Republican party is committed to abolishing the estate tax and the capital gains tax on savings and investment. In the past, Republicans had timidly called for small reductions in

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both levies, sounding like special pleaders asking for a loophole. Gingrich and Lott elevated the call for abolition to the level of principle: It is wrong to double-tax and triple-tax savings and investment; it is wrong to ask any American to visit the undertaker and the IRS on the same day. Republicans and taxpayer activists are now establishing coordinating committees in each congressional district dedicated to abolishing the estate and capital gains tax.

The second breakthrough was the announcement by Gingrich and Bill Archer, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, that the Republican leadership is committed to introducing tax-cut bills every year. President Clinton may veto tax cuts that are passed. But taxes, Archer has announced, are going in only one direction: down.

The third revolutionary change was Congress's decision to hold an annual vote on a constitutional amendment to require a two-thirds vote of both chambers to raise any taxes or to impose any new ones. This amendment, already in place in 10 states, will protect tax cuts from repeal and stop the imposition of new taxes.

Fourth, the flat-tax idea promoted by House Majority Leader Dick Armey and Senator Richard Shelby and introduced in the 1996 presidential primaries by Steve Forbes has now become a consensus issue within Republican ranks. Republicans are now preparing to hold a three-year debate about the advantages of moving to a flat-rate income tax or to a national retail sales tax. Republicans now agree on moving to a single-rate tax that taxes income only once. No matter what the outcome of the internal Republican debate on how best to scrap the present system and cut the tax burden, taxpayers cannot lose.

These four initiatives are also moving forward at the state level, where Republican governors are eliminating estate taxes, passing annual tax cuts and, in places such as Arizona and Connecticut, proposing radical reforms such as abolishing the state income tax altogether. State legislators and governors are lashing themselves to the tax-cut mast by signing the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against any and all tax hikes. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge now has 203 signers in the House of Representatives and 40 in the Senate. State taxpayer groups in all 50 states have challenged state legislators and governors to sign pledges against all state tax hikes; 767 state legislators have signed it to date—10 percent of all state legislators.

The tax revolt is gathering national momentum again; four decisions by Republican leaders have put the tax issue front and center.

If Republican leaders keep their commitments, the modest tax cut of 1997 will be only the first step. Tax reduction will once again be at the center of American political debate.

***Grover Norquist** is the president of Americans for Tax Reform, in Washington, D.C.*

Guiding Principles of Tax Reform

Grace-Marie Arnett

The National Commission on Economic Growth and Tax Reform, chaired by Jack Kemp, issued a report on January 17, 1996, after months of hearings and analysis of the tax system. The Tax Reform Commission recommended that the current 7-million-word Internal Revenue Code be repealed in its entirety and replaced with a simpler, fairer system.

Although the Tax Reform Commission recommended a single low rate, taxing income only once, it did not recommend a specific rate of taxation. But the Commission did offer a set of principles to guide major tax reform. The following are excerpts from the commission's report on principles for a new tax system.

The present tax system is beyond repair: It is impossibly complex, outrageously expensive, overly intrusive, economically destructive, and manifestly unfair. It is riddled with special-interest tax breaks, and it over-taxes both labor and capital.

A new tax system should be created that is based upon a vision of America that places the individual—not the government—at the center of society. It should recognize that government doesn't create opportunity; citizens do, if only government will get out of their way.

We begin by asking what a tax system should accomplish. A fair and simple tax code must generate sufficient revenue for the federal government to carry out its legitimate tasks. It must not place a tax burden on those members of society least able to bear one. And, perhaps most important of all, it must not restrict the innovative and entrepreneurial capacities of Americans upon which rising living standards and our general prosperity so greatly depend.

Before devising a new tax system, the American people must engage in a dialogue about the basic principles upon which the new system will be based. The Tax Reform Commission developed six working principles for a 21st-century tax system. It developed these principles after hearing thousands of comments and concerns from the American people and after systematically reviewing the current tax code. These are not isolated ideas, but rather principles that link together to form a sequence—a chain of economic DNA—that can

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renew the health of our economy and release the entrepreneurial spirit of the American people.

Economic Growth. The engine of opportunity and prosperity can only be unleashed by a tax code that encourages initiative, hard work, and saving. Expanding opportunity, prosperity, and social mobility form the foundation of a free and healthy society. None of the myriad challenges confronting our nation—poverty, crime, racial tension, welfare dependency, or the budget deficit—can be solved without strong economic growth. Therefore, any new tax system must be predicated, first and foremost, on a commitment to revitalizing the American economy and lifting barriers to opportunity.

Fairness. A system must be based upon treating all citizens equally. The current code—with its proliferation of rates, deductions, exemptions, and transfers of wealth from one constituency to another—contributes to the overwhelming conviction of many Americans that the present system is unfair. By restoring basic fairness, we can restore faith in the system and keep the tax rate low.

Simplicity. The system should be simple enough that anyone can figure it out. Filing tax returns has become one of life's most nerve-wracking, gut-wrenching, and mind-numbing chores. The authors of *The Federalist Papers* warned, "It will be of little avail to the people that the laws are made by men of their own choice if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood." A simplified, fairer tax system will let Americans get a handle on their taxes, a grip on their government, and a hold on their future.

Neutrality. A fair tax system should not pick winners or losers, or tax saving more heavily than consumption. The tax system should free people to make decisions based upon their own needs and dreams. The tax code should be used to raise revenue to operate the government while doing the least possible damage to the economy. As Senator Robert Bennett of Utah pointed out, "Neutrality means that the tax code should *not* be used to punish the bad guys and reward the good guys. We have other laws for that." Unfortunately, the current code strives to act as an economic traffic cop—giving green lights to certain economic activities and flashing red lights at others.

Visibility. Everyone deserves an honest accounting of government's cost. Those who pay the price of government have a right to see the bill. The current system hides the cost of government behind a chronic deficit and a maddening multiplicity of taxes—many of which are virtually invisible to the taxpayers who pays them. The invisibility of many taxes perpetuates the fantasy that government is free—even as its real costs shrink our paychecks, sap our savings, drain our economy, and inflate the federal budget deficit. Goods and services don't pay taxes. People do. A visible system gives taxpayers an honest accounting of the expenses of government that they are paying for and will make it far more difficult for politicians to tinker with the tax code without democratic consent.

Stability. People ought to be able to plan for their futures without the rules being changed in the middle of the game. Uncertainty has a debilitating effect on the economy, making it very difficult for families and businesses, particularly small businesses, to plan for their future with confidence. A stable tax code must allow individuals to start a business, buy a house, take out a loan, put money into savings, or plan for their children's education without fear of what might lurk behind the next election cycle.

Any new tax system must be predicated on a commitment to revitalizing the American economy and lifting barriers to opportunity.

In his last public address, Abraham Lincoln said, "Important principles may and must be inflexible." By laying out these important principles, this commission hopes to help build a future of growing prosperity for many generations to come.

This summary of "Unleashing America's Potential: A Pro-Growth, Pro-Family Tax System for the Twenty-First Century" was prepared by ***Grace-Marie Arnett****, formerly the executive director of the Tax Reform Commission and now president of the Galen Institute of Alexandria, Virginia, which specializes in health-care and tax-policy research. Copies of the commission's full report are available from The Heritage Foundation Publications Office; call 202-546-4400.*

Members of the National Commission on Economic Growth and Tax Reform were: ***Jack Kemp****, chairman (co-director, Empower America);* ***Edwin J. Feulner Jr.****, vice chairman (president, The Heritage Foundation);* ***Loretta H. Adams*** *(president, Market Development, Inc.);* ***Kenneth Blackwell*** *(Ohio state treasurer);* ***Herman Cain*** *(former chairman and CEO, Godfather's Pizza, now president, National Restaurant Association);* ***Carroll Campbell*** *(president and CEO, American Council of Life Insurance and former governor of South Carolina);* ***Pete du Pont*** *(policy chairman, National Center for Policy Analysis and former governor of Delaware);* ***Jack Faris*** *(president, National Federation of Independent Business);* ***Matt Fong*** *(California state treasurer);* ***Theodore J. Forstmann*** *(founding partner, Forstmann Little & Co.);* ***Dean R. Kleckner*** *(president, American Farm Bureau Federation);* ***Shirley Peterson*** *(president, Hood College and former commissioner of the IRS);* ***John Snow*** *(chairman, president, and CEO, CSX Corporation);* ***John Wieland*** *(president, John Wieland Homes, Inc).*

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The New Mission for Philanthropy

Shocking amounts of charitable giving are gravely misdirected and wholly ineffective. A report from a commission chaired by Lamar Alexander points the way toward a reformation of American philanthropy.

"Giving Better, Giving Smarter," a report by the National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, is the most significant work on the value of private charitable efforts since the report of the Filer Commission in 1975. Supported by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the NCPCR aims to assess "how private giving in America can help revive our poorest communities and promote self-sufficiency and independence among our citizens." Its members include: Lamar Alexander (chairman), Reed Coleman (vice chairman), Elayne Bennett, Kenneth W. Dam, the Rev. Henry Delaney Jr., Kimberly O. Dennis, Chester E. Finn Jr., the Rev. Jerry E. Hill, Constance Horner, Sister Jennie Lechtenberg, William H. Lock, Pastor Juan Rivera, and Sam A. Williams. Its Web site is www.ncpcr.org.

America is the richest, most generous nation on Earth. In no other country do individuals, communities, foundations, corporations, and other private philanthropies give so many billions of dollars to such a wide variety of worthy causes and organizations. Yet among all these commendable activities and missions, helping people in need has always played a special role. For many Americans, it defines the essence of charity.

Today, however, far too much of the private largesse intended by its donors to improve the condition of the poor is misspent or misdirected. This gap between the generosity and good intentions of Americans and the actual impact of their giving on those in need is the central concern of the National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal.

Since our founding last year, we have focused on private efforts to help the poor, by which we mean organized, nongovernmental attempts to aid the hungry, the homeless, the chronically unemployed, the addicted, the severely disabled, and anyone whose life has been made miserable by the effects of long-term poverty. We chose this focus knowing full well that an immense world of private philanthropy also supports, to name just a few examples, hospitals, education, cultural institutions, and the environment. We value these, too. But we chose not to make them our concern.

There is good reason to believe that philanthropy for people in need demands more urgent attention today. For many years, the United States has seen a vigorous public debate about the reformation of welfare policies. It is in this area where govern-

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The faces of effective giving (from left): A participant in Best Friends' teen abstinence program; a Catholic school grad on a Student/Sponsor Partnership scholarship, with mom, sponsor (left), and academic mentor; Nancy Reagan at D.C.'s Clean and Sober Streets drug-rehab center.

ment's role is now undergoing the greatest (and, we think, long-overdue) upheaval and where private giving and private institutions will be dramatically affected.

Hence we have made it the heart of our report. We have concluded that much of the private philanthropy designed to help our poorest citizens and most distressed communities is gravely flawed; well-intended, to be sure, but often ineffective, inefficient, even misguided.

Our hope is that private charitable activity, if pursued in the right way, will play a greater role in reviving troubled neighborhoods and assisting individuals who cannot make it on their own. It is our secret weapon. Yet it would be an error to assume that today's philanthropy establishment is ready—or even willing—to shoulder that important role. Far too much charitable giving is wasted on efforts that make scant difference in the lives of individuals or the well-being of communities. True, the same criticism could be and has been made of countless government social programs. But we believe private giving should be held to an even higher standard. We have therefore come together not to assess what government has done or should do, but instead to recommend how private giving might renew itself.

We believe there is an urgent and singularly valuable role for such giving, distinct from government efforts to aid the poor and from the appeals of large, national charities. This is the philanthropy of individuals who want to use their time and money to make a difference by helping people in need and rebuilding their communities. These donors—both today's effective donors and, we hope, tomorrow's typical donors—should be as exacting in their charitable activities as in other domains of their lives. They need not be the wealthiest givers or richest foundations. These are ordinary people, many of whom already give to charity and volunteer their time.

To what should they give? Examples abound of worthy recipients in communities from coast to coast. These organizations share many traits, including the fact that they are often overlooked by large philanthropic organizations, in part because of their local focus, in part because they practice an entrepreneurial approach to helping the poor that is radically different from the government-sponsored social-service model that has also become the model of many large charities.

Our goal is to make sure that more of our money is spent in more of the right places, to reorient American philanthropy toward the independent, locally based, results-oriented organizations, and to magnify the impact that such organizations have on individuals and communities.

How Much Money?

Less money than you might think is contributed by private givers to aid people in need. And that giving must be understood in context. The federal government continues to play a sizable role, of course. In 1996, means-tested federal entitlement programs totaled $103 billion (excluding Medicaid, which accounted for another $93 billion). This figure equals the entire gross domestic product of Norway. State and local governments spend billions more.

By comparison, Americans gave an estimated $144 billion to philanthropic causes in 1995. That's

Photos courtesy of Best Friends Foundation, Clean and Sober Streets, and Student/Sponsor Partnership, Inc.

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a very big number, too, but it dwindles rapidly when we focus only on the portions most likely to aid the poor and people in need. About 44 percent of American philanthropy, or $63 billion, went to religious institutions (mostly churches). About $18 billion went to educational institutions (mostly colleges and universities), and $13 billion went to health organizations (mostly hospitals).

Just $12 billion of private giving went to "human service organizations," a category that includes most of the organizations aimed specifically at helping the poor. How significant is that amount of money? Compare it with the sums that Americans spend on more self-indulgent pursuits: In 1993, for example, we spent $6.4 billion at the movies, $6.9 billion on videotape rentals, $3.4 billion on health-club memberships, and about $3 billion on bowling. There is good reason to believe that the amount Americans donate to help the poor will grow considerably in the years ahead. We are entering a watershed period in U.S. philanthropy, as members of the World War II generation leave substantial sums to charity and even larger portions of their accumulated wealth to their children, people now in their 40s and 50s. We will shortly experience the largest intergenerational transfer of wealth in our nation's history. The "baby boom" generation of givers has the potential to change the pattern of philanthropy dramatically. Joining them will be new givers who have little inherited wealth but who have earned enough to make them consider more active giving for the first time.

Tax laws have encouraged them to set up their own foundations at a rapid pace. A growing body of literature advises people on estate planning and novel forms of sharing both their wealth and their time. New financial organizations and instruments offer many more options for structuring one's giving. All these developments provide unprecedented opportunities for new private philanthropy, including giving to help the poor.

We believe this diverse generation of donors can establish new strategies and patterns of charity and can find new routes for giving time and wealth back to their communities. This is a good thing, because, a new, even path-breaking, approach is needed. At a time in American history when private giving is about to play a greater role in every community, it is critical that this money be well spent. We cannot afford to waste it.

The Moral Advantage of Charity

Government spends far more money on the poor than philanthropy does, and we assume it always will. Despite the furor over "welfare reform," most government entitlements for the poor (and the not-so-poor) continue growing. The biggest policy mistakes we could make would be to confuse government programs with private charity, or the work of charitable organizations with the responsibilities of government, or to see them as interchangeable activities or as elements of a "zero-sum" calculation in which every dollar lost in government spending must be replaced by a dollar of private spending. This equation is deeply misleading.

Properly understood, government and charity are two distinct enterprises, sometimes complementary, but with different forms, different purposes, different strengths, and different effects. Just as it would be disastrous for government to try to usurp the role of private philanthropy or voluntarism, it would similarly be foolish for charity to take on the role of government.

This distinction between government policy and private initiative is well grounded. After decades of reforms and experimentation in federal and social-welfare spending, it is clear that the essential purpose of government programs is largely related to "income maintenance." In essence, welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, and similar programs are forms of cash assistance, raising the purchasing power of the poor to a basic level. To be sure, such programs have been fraught with bad incentives and are open to misuse. But their problems do not alter their essential nature: They transfer funds from mainly middle-class taxpayers to the poor.

Private philanthropy, on the other hand, can reasonably aspire to quite a lot more. Income maintenance is not an adequate way of reviving neighborhoods, promoting self-sufficiency, and rebuilding the civic institutions that safe, well-functioning communities depend on. That is where the private sector comes in. Philanthropy and voluntarism cannot match the raw buying power of annual government appropriations. Yet they have the potential to be far more influential in changing the character of impoverished neighborhoods, reshaping individual lives, and reconnecting citizens to their communities. Unburdened by federal or state rules, local private organizations can address the problems of poverty in ways that government programs never have and almost certainly cannot.

Civic entrepreneurship can be far more influential in changing the character of impoverished neighborhoods than government spending.

Only private philanthropy can truly provide accountability, responsiveness, flexibility, adaptation to local circumstances, and constant innovation. Only private philanthropy can insist on individual results, rather than enforcing uniform eligibility requirements. Only private philanthropy can isolate the special characteristics of a tiny neighborhood within a large metropolitan area. Only pri-

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vate philanthropy can link the interests of churches, schools, businesses, and families in a single community. Only private philanthropy can set modest but achievable goals and be content to solve one problem at a time.

Above all, private charity is able to recognize that the chief difficulty in aiding the poor is as much moral as material, and in the long run is more moral than material. Government is ill-suited to provide or even supervise that type of support. Indeed, in a free society we don't really want government interfering with morals, values, individual responsibility, and behavior, let alone with the religious basis of much of morality.

This is where the private sector can play a unique and irreplaceable role: It can help people learn to live virtuously. It is this capacity for moral leadership that confers on private philanthropy its greatest comparative advantage vis-à-vis government. Individual donors and members of private and corporate philanthropies ought never to lose sight of this. For the characteristic that distinguishes private aid to the poor from government programs is precisely what also distinguishes effective giving from wasted philanthropy.

The Mythical Spending Gap

The present transformation of 60-year-old government welfare policies presents a tremendous opportunity, and an historic challenge, to what Peter Drucker has called "the social sector"—that array of social entrepreneurs and private organizations that engage in philanthropic activity. As government programs to aid the indigent are altered, American charitable and philanthropic organizations will invariably aspire to do more and to do it better. As states and localities look to revive their poorest communities, there will also be a demand for a more engaged "civic sector."

That is why we are dismayed whenever the reform of federal and state welfare policies is perceived by private organizations themselves as a threat rather than an opportunity. The head of one prominent national charity recently asked, "Where will the money come from to save those people from starvation, illness, or death?"

These sentiments, expressed in various ways, have constituted the core criticism facing those who believe, as we do, that "less from government and more from ourselves" is the best formula for aiding the poor and bringing civic renewal to our cities. The criticism implies that, because private charities cannot reasonably be expected to fill the gap left by shrinking government programs, welfare reform is doomed to fail and efforts to promote a greater role for philanthropy are (at best) naive and (at worst) cold-hearted.

This argument displays a deep misunderstanding of the true issues at stake in the debate over the future of American giving. Our commission does not believe that, in purely fiscal terms, private philanthropies can make up the difference in so-called "shortfalls" in government spending. But neither should they be expected to. It is a fundamental error to think of the private sector as simply "filling gaps" created by shrinking or changing government programs.

Those who ask, "How will the private sector ever provide the dollars once spent by government on helping the poor?" are asking the wrong question. The question the country should ask—and this commission is asking—is, how can private philanthropy, in the wake of welfare reform, better fulfill its own distinct mission?

In trying to answer that question, our commission has deliberately bypassed a number of high-profile questions of national policy. Some readers may be disappointed that we have not staked out positions on, say, estate-tax reform or charity tax credits, or the future shape of the Internal Revenue Code. These are all important issues, to be sure, and, to the extent that policy can encourage individuals to give more time and money to the poor, we welcome them. But our chief concern is how citizens and private organizations can use their time and money to have a substantial and beneficial impact on poor communities. Regardless of what changes government policymakers may pursue, the private sector must reform itself if it is going to play a substantial and effective role in aiding individuals and reviving communities.

National charities have the effect of discouraging local giving aimed at strengthening civic organizations and caring for one's neighbors.

What's Wrong with American Giving?

Much of American philanthropy is ineffective, sometimes wrongheaded, and occasionally counterproductive. Our criticisms apply to individuals, foundations, corporations, and the recipient organizations themselves. Some of our key observations:

Individual giving is haphazard, misdirected, and misspent. Few Americans make plans or set goals for giving to charity or for volunteering. Rather than ascertaining where their money or time could have the most impact, most Americans wait until they are asked to contribute. Then they give to whatever cause did the asking.

Private foundations and philanthropies conduct too much study, too little direct service, and too little hard-nosed evaluation of what they get for their money. After decades of public and private experiments in ways to help the poor, wealthy

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donors and large foundations continue to expend sizable sums to "study" or "pilot-test" various programs aimed at systemic change, rather than using that money to provide help directly. Yet those innumerable studies yield surprisingly little of the rigorous analysis that would enable the country to determine what effect, if any, these well-intentioned programs have on those who are intended to benefit from them.

Many large philanthropies and charities compete with deserving local organizations, creating more distance between the donor and the ultimate recipient. Large national charities have been very effective at fundraising, as have local United Way chapters, but they have also created conditions in which donors are too removed from the work that their dollars ostensibly support. Without intending it, these large, umbrella charities make it harder for donors to form a bond with recipients. Charities that are national in scope also tend to discourage local giving specifically aimed at strengthening civic organizations and caring for one's neighbors. The donor is given no incentive to seek out the best organizations in his or her own city.

Some charities have themselves become dependent on government. Rather than seeking independent, entrepreneurial, and locally based efforts to help the poor, some philanthropies have used their resources to build what are now widely termed "public-private partnerships." The all-too-frequent result is that the nonprofit sector becomes bureaucratic, dependent on government, and incapable of imagining solutions that do not involve government spending. Many of these organizations—typically the large, national ones—spend considerable time and effort lobbying government or addressing issues of federal social policy. They are perpetually distracted by the annual budget cycle in Washington, D.C., rather than by the immediate needs of their communities.

Large foundations have started to act like government. Many large philanthropies, and the programs they fund, see their missions as extensions of government policy. They consciously fund projects that try to replicate (or pave the way for) government programs. Rather than acting as pioneers to create new, entrepreneurial, and unorthodox private efforts, these large philanthropic programs develop a fully symbiotic relationship with government and, in the process, surrender much of what makes the private sector different and valuable.

Many foundations expend a lot of energy talking to one another, rather than addressing problems directly. As the philanthropic world has grown by leaps and bounds, so has the professional world of philanthropy expanded and become more self-absorbed and self-referential. The landscape of contemporary philanthropy is now cluttered with seminars, forums, cooperatives, working groups, task forces, coalitions, partnerships, and studies on how to help the poor. "Collaboration" has become not merely part of the professional philanthropic jargon but a full-time activity itself.

Established philanthropy prefers the grand theory and the abstract cause over the simple solution to a tangible problem. Many philanthropies and foundations suffer from hubris. By targeting deep-seated and intractable (and sometimes irrelevant) sources of problems and scorning immediate actions that would both ameliorate today's problems and address yesterday's causes, they often overlook local organizations whose immediate goals are to provide for the direct needs of individuals. Like government policymakers, many of these organizations try to address broad social conditions, often referred to as "root causes"—poverty, crime, inequality—rather than treat the manifestations of these conditions, such as welfare dependency, teen pregnancy, abuse, hunger, or addiction, with direct action in pursuit of rapidly observable results.

Redirecting American Giving

Together, this cluster of problems saps the vitality and potential of American giving and hinders the renewal of American communities. In an era in which we are rethinking the scope and mission of government social policy, private initiatives to help the poor risk becoming a smaller and less influential part of American life because they have taken on many of the least desirable characteristics of government programs.

Yet this need not be so. Philanthropy in the United States was once energized by the conviction that government should do as little as possible precisely because the needs of individuals and communities are better met through effective private efforts. It was taken for granted that such private efforts are more efficient, yet also more humane, than anything government can do; that they contain essential elements of morality, faith, responsibility, and discipline that governmental efforts can seldom muster; and that they are inextricably entangled with the well-being of real communities in which people live, not some imaginary national community. It's the erosion of that conviction, and the slackening of the private-sector virtues and philanthropic assumptions that accompanied it, that give urgency to our call for reform.

Philanthropy is doing a good job at just one thing: moving money from donors to recipients. In this respect, it imitates government far too well.

American philanthropy today, taken as a whole, is doing a good job at just one thing: moving money from donors to recipients. In this one re-

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spect, it imitates government far too well. Philanthropy is not doing nearly enough to ensure that this money is used effectively or that the huge amount of nonmonetary contributions by many citizens—volunteer time above all—is productively employed in assisting people in need and in reviving their communities. Philanthropy, in other words, is not fulfilling its own vital responsibilities. It is surrendering its own singular strength and most distinctive asset.

We believe that Americans themselves can help restore a greater sense of purpose to philanthropy and thereby make a tremendous difference to those who need it most. The message of this report is consciously directed at individuals and organizations that want to use their time and money to help change the lives of their fellow citizens and renew the most afflicted communities. We believe there is a need for a new type of American donor—a "civic entrepreneur"—who wants to help the poor and rebuild community institutions and who is prepared to be as exacting in his charitable activities as in the other domains of his life. One might visualize donors who are as careful in selecting recipients as in selecting their children's school or physician or in choosing their home or automobile. Private charity should be a strategic activity. It demands the seriousness of a long-term investment.

These new American donors need not be the wealthiest givers or best-endowed foundations. Millions of ordinary people already give to charity. Millions volunteer their time. We want all of them to be able to direct their money and energy into efforts that actually improve the conditions of the poor and the quality of life in communities. We want them to be more directly involved in choosing how their money is used and which charitable organizations truly deserve their support. That requires providing more than a list of worthy recipients. It requires donors to rethink the aims of their generosity and the channels through which it flows. It requires also that they discover the independent but purposeful organizations in or near their own communities that view charity as more than just a supplement to a welfare check.

The True Value of Volunteering

What is true for financial donations is also true for volunteerism. The recent attention given to volunteer activities, including the highly publicized "Volunteer Summit" in Philadelphia, will no doubt spur many to make new efforts to spend time in poor communities. This we can only applaud. But there are worrisome strains of thinking—some heard in commentary during the Philadelphia summit—that threaten to corrupt or distort the character of traditional American volunteering.

The first is that volunteerism is made necessary only by a lack of government initiative to help the poor. This argument misses the importance of individual leadership and involvement in poor communities, things that government dollars can never provide. It conflates what salaried professionals do with what unpaid amateurs do and why they do it. It also overlooks the moral and religious nature of much voluntary activity, spheres of life that are blessedly free of government interference.

Another worrisome mode of thinking that we have detected is the increasing appeal of volunteer programs sponsored and sanctioned by government. These kinds of programs, often discussed under the rubric of Big Citizenship, encompass mandated community service in schools and colleges and the spread of "volunteer" programs (like AmeriCorps) funded, organized, and regulated by government. We think these types of programs are both unnecessary and unwise.

Ninety-three million Americans volunteered in 1995, and they did so without the exhortations of public officials or government bodies.

Ninety-three million Americans volunteered in 1995, and nearly all of them did so without the exhortations of public officials or government bodies. They do not wish that a government program was doing the work instead. They do not need or want the government to structure their volunteer efforts. The purpose of volunteerism, in part, is to connect an individual with a part of his or her community. It is as important to the person doing the volunteering as it is to those who benefit from his or her efforts. Government welfare programs have done just the opposite, replacing individual and personal initiatives with bureaucratic and impersonal processes. We worry that Big Citizenship, for all its sentimental appeal, will fall prey to the same problems as it looks to government for initiative, direction, financing, and legitimacy.

Volunteering, like virtue, must remain its own reward. Americans need not view volunteering as a formal civic obligation akin to paying taxes or driving on the right side of the road or sending their children to school. People should volunteer because they believe that their skills and talents will benefit communities in which they live.

If the era of Big Government is indeed over, then this vision for American giving and volunteering is not merely a proposal. It is a necessity. If there is a limit to what government can achieve in aiding the poor and fostering independence, then we must accept a greater role for the civic sector and the generous individual. No one else will solve the manifold problems that come with poverty. It is a responsibility that Americans must now accept.

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The Get Rea

By Tod Lindberg

From the height of Republican ascendancy two years ago, how could things have fallen so far so fast?

Conservative observers love to catalogue the horrors of the 105th Congress. Start with the personalities: A House Speaker, Newt Gingrich, who seems to have lost the ability to articulate a conservative agenda, the respect of congressional Republicans, and the interest of the American people; the Speaker's backstabbing subalterns in the House, who have begun maneuvering to succeed him; a new Senate leader, Trent Lott, whose conservatism may prove to be as much a matter of tactics as principles.

Then there are the issues: The Balanced Budget Amendment fails in the Senate yet again; the conservative agenda on such issues as racial preferences lies moribund; a bill to provide disaster relief for flood victims brings political disaster upon Republicans; and, of course, President Clinton and congressional leaders strike a balanced-budget deal that most conservatives regard as, at best, a huge disappointment.

Lastly, look at the themes, the inspiring articulation of the principles that separate liberal from conservative, rally the troops, and frighten the enemy: There are none. The man Gingrich brought in as communications guru for the 105th Congress was gone five months after he arrived.

Now, compare this record of nonachievement with the first nine months of the 104th Congress. Conservatism was triumphant. It had a face, the face of Newt Gingrich, and that face and those of his surrogates appeared on public-affairs programs every day to explain the intellectual and political bankruptcy of liberalism and the principles of the conservative and Republican "revolution." Under their new majority leader, Dick Armey, House Republicans united to pass their "Contract with America" legislation with disciplined energy, speed, and authority. Outside groups were energized, eager to bring their resources in the service of the revolution. It was the moment for conservative ideology to step out of the think tanks and into its governing stance, by means of the GOP congressional majority.

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Congress

Those who would blame conservative disappointments in Congress solely on a Republican failure of nerve are missing some pieces of the puzzle.

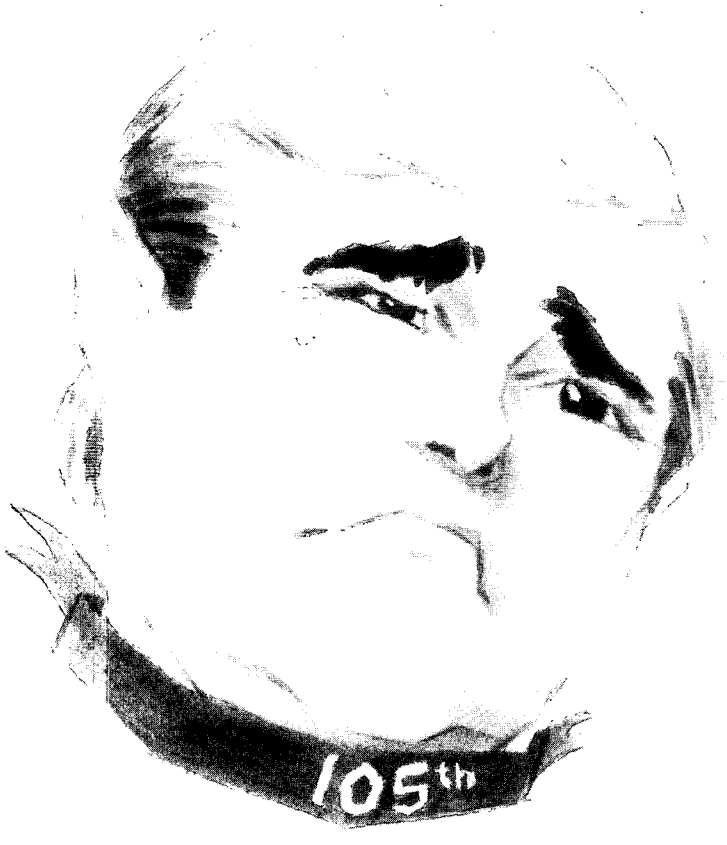

Illustration by Darren Gygi

Moreover, in 1995, the Democrats were foundering. The president was reduced to insisting on his own relevance. Congressional Democrats spun furiously—and erroneously. Republicans never believed their own promises and couldn't possibly make good on them, they said, even as House Republicans were proving the opposite. Democrats, in short, were still in denial.

A scant two years later, the popularity of the newly re-elected Democratic president has reached its highest level ever. Hill Democrats are busy preparing an entirely new federal entitlement for children's health insurance—and doing so in the certain expectation that they will attract more than enough Republican votes to pass it.

Democrats have their own worries, of course: illicit fundraising, independent counsels, and Dick Gephardt, the House Minority Leader who broke with the White House over the budget deal. It could hardly be said that for Democrats, everything is hunky-dory. But it would take willful blindness not to see how partisan fortunes have reversed in two years.

Conservatives outside the provinces of Capitol Hill are saying that self-styled reformers are inevitably co-opted after they settle in Washington, and that only the naive would suppose one's own reformers are different. These so-called movement conservatives have distanced themselves from the political leaders they embraced and supported only two years ago. They vow to put their trust, not in princes, but in principles, the principles that GOP congressional leadership espouse in theory and betray in practice. The movement conservatives are left to hope that those who have abandoned their principles will rediscover them—a rare thing—or that a new generation of principled leaders will emerge who are capable of sticking it out and fighting the good fight to the end.

In fact, the question isn't whether one should have principles; of course one should. The question is whether the movement conservatives' assessment of GOP problems on Capitol Hill is correct. I think there is some reason for pause. Those who would blame conservative disappointments solely on a failure of nerve on the part of the congressional GOP are, I think, missing some important pieces of the puzzle. Here are a few:

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The Numbers Game

The current Republican majority in the House is much smaller than that of the 104th Congress. It is also the smallest majority in the House since 1955. Unlike the Senate, the House is a body in which the majority rules more or less absolutely. But that can be any majority, not just the one nominally in charge. It is quite possible for a majority party to lose control to some coalition of the minority party and defectors from its own.

During the 104th Congress, Republicans numbered as many as 236. That's 18 more than the 218 members needed to control the chamber. As it happens, 236 is not a particularly large majority, historically speaking. But in the 105th Congress, Republicans have had no more than 228, or a 10-seat majority. In practical terms, this difference is huge.

The conflicting ideological factions within the GOP seem to be conspiring to produce the worst of all outcomes for the party.

Dick Armey's task as majority leader is to run the House's day-to-day operations. Now he must do so knowing that any 11 members of the Republican conference can team up and stick it to him. All they have to do is vote with the Democrats on a matter of procedure. The leadership was not immune from legislative rebellion in the 104th Congress. But it is exponentially more difficult to organize a cabal of 19 than a cabal of 11. And from Armey's point of view, an imminent explosion may be undetectable until it's time to try to put the pieces back together.

The Republican majority in the 105th Congress is thus much more vulnerable to pressure from its own ideological poles. Mainstream opinion among House Republicans is fairly conservative—not all that different from that of movement conservatives. But the GOP conference includes at least a dozen moderate-to-liberal members who are generally dissatisfied with the mainstream conservative Republican agenda. Another 20 or so members might join them on one issue or another. Movement conservatives have always decried these Republican "squishes." But their potential influence on legislation has grown tremendously since the 104th Congress—when their performance was already a frequent object of conservative ire.

It's not just the moderate wing that gets to play the game, however. Serious dissent is also emerging on the right. Certainly, some Republicans in the 104th Congress even regarded the Contract With America as too timid. A per-child tax credit? A sop to the Christian Coalition. Where was the broad-based reduction in tax rates Republicans really believed in? But the Contract was written to articulate what would be politically achievable by a Republican majority that did not even exist when the Contract was written. The first test of achievability was the creation of an agenda on which almost all current and aspiring GOP members could agree. The conservative conference members were fully on board.

The same cannot be said of conservatives in relation to the agenda of the 105th Congress. Consider the budget deal. Chris Cox, a staunch conservative and a member of the leadership, voted against it. Dick Armey himself was conspicuously absent—he said he was at home hanging shutters—when Gingrich and Lott and most of the rest of the leadership unveiled it to great fanfare. Armey continued to convey support without enthusiasm, and his office became a repository for complaints about Gingrich's leadership, leading to the failed coup attempt against the speaker in July.

The conservative opposition to the budget deal in the House of Representatives has not risen to the level of crisis. But on other occasions, the butting ideological factions within the GOP seemed to be conspiring to produce the worst of all possible outcomes for the party. Take the disaster-relief bill, for example. Conservative members wanted President Clinton to assent to at least some GOP priorities. So the party attached riders that Clinton opposed, hoping the pressure to aid flood victims would induce him to make concessions. Although the moderate-to-liberal wing of the party would have preferred a "clean" bill, it didn't have the strength to thwart the conservatives.

In the event, Clinton's political calculation was the more astute. He vetoed the measure and sat tight, denouncing the GOP for letting partisan politics get in the way of helping suffering people. Suddenly, the liberal-moderate opposition crystallized, and the conservative bloc couldn't prevent an unceremonious retreat. Arguably, if the GOP had employed its strategy with conviction, Clinton would have had to go along with something. But he recognized that the GOP's internal dynamics made compromise unnecessary.

The Lost Mandate

Within conservative circles, it's an article of faith that, while Bob Dole and Jack Kemp at the top of the ticket lost in 1996, Republicans nevertheless won by holding onto the House and even picking up 2 seats in the Senate. In fact, Republicans lost the 1996 election.

Unquestionably, the Senate constitutes a win, but not the House. Perhaps, if Republicans had picked up a few House seats, or just broken even, as those chirpy folks at the National Republican Congressional Committee kept predicting, the GOP could have claimed a victory. But their numbers decreased; this fact has left some of the mem-

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bers who survived feeling mighty nervous.

First, look at the geographical pattern. In 1994, Republicans continued the surge in the South and the West that had been evident in recent elections. The once solidly Democratic South was turning solidly Republican. But 1994's gains were not confined to these areas. Republicans picked up seats across the landscape.

Now one might expect the waters from the 1994 tidal wave to recede a bit, if only (in the optimistic scenario) to make way for the next wave. In 1996, however, the waters did not recede uniformly. Republicans continued to make gains in their stronghold areas. But they lost more than 20 seats in what I call the "Broken Arc" of states running from the West Coast across the northern plains (except for Idaho), into the upper Midwest, up through the Northeast, and down to the mid-Atlantic states.

Gingrich himself has acknowledged that the Republican Party has a problem in the Broken Arc, which he analogizes to the nations of Northern Europe, where the welfare state has deep roots and many self-interested defenders. He has said that Republicans will need to better craft their conservative message so that it appeals to voters in these regions.

That is surely true. But it is not merely habit and vested interest that make some voters in these areas leery of conservative proposals. It is also genuine support for many of the programs targeted even by the mainstream Republican agenda, let alone the hard-line one. To be sure, Democrats have been shameless in their starving-baby-and-homeless-grandma caricature of the Republican agenda.

On the other hand, no one really thinks that Republicans are out to expand Medicare and Medicaid and other programs dear to defenders of the welfare state. Many of the most vulnerable GOP incumbents know this is not just a communications problem, and so hope to attenuate the GOP's conservative agenda. This moderating force, which was barely present in the 104th Congress, has already manifested itself in the factionalism of the 105th.

Many movement conservatives regard this as cowardice pure and simple, the usual political evolution from conservative to squish. They also argue that politically, one is better off sticking to principle. It remains to be seen whether those who have become more moderate have thereby improved their electoral prospects. Nor is it clear what a Broken Arc Republicanism will look like—at least not until the elections of 1998. In the meantime, though, these newfound electoral fears constitute serious pressure on the GOP conference.

Meanwhile, the defenders of the welfare state are gathering for another assault. In 1996, the AFL-CIO and the Democratic party spent millions of dollars on "Mediscare" attack ads. Had Republicans held on to all their House seats, the trade unions might have reason to be demoralized. Instead, any rational Democratic political operative knows that these tactics got them halfway back to control in 1996. And the emergence of the GOP's regional weakness is there for all to see. Thus it is time for the Democrats to redouble their attacks, not give them up.

A Bumpy Adjustment

Conservative Republican ideology is still making the bumpy transition from opposition to power, from the theoretical to the practical. The conservative agenda has long coalesced around broad policy prescriptions: a neutral tax code, school choice, privatized Social Security, deregulation, medical savings accounts, and so on. The mainstream conservatives in the 105th Congress share these views, of course. But now they know how difficult it can be to advance this agenda, especially when the president doesn't share it.

"Just do it," the *cri de coeur* of the conservative movement, just doesn't do it. It isn't easy to know how much compromise is too much, or when victory in one battle might cost the war. Is it better to make a budget deal with Bill Clinton, one that will include the first tax cut since 1981, or to demur and make a principled case for deeper tax relief and fundamental tax reform? In the 104th Congress, the Republican majorities looked mainly to themselves. But the fact that Bill Clinton stood them down and won re-election has led them to consider what they can achieve while he is in office.

"Just do it," the *cri de coeur* of the conservative movement, just doesn't do it.

We will never see the likes of the 104th Congress again, I think. The Republican majority was openly ideological, candid to a fault about its goals and how it wanted to achieve them, self-confident about the rectitude of its course—and utterly persuaded that the American people were on its side.

The 105th Congress is darker, brooding, edgy, uncertain. If conservatives ever regain the self-confidence they have lost, it will likely be tempered by a sense of prudence. Prudence means not always speaking your mind, not always describing in all its detail your ultimate agenda; it means understanding your weaknesses as well as your strengths. Prudence is no fun—certainly not for the many movement conservatives who miss the candor and heady enthusiasm of the 104th Congress. But that's politics.

***Tod Lindberg** is the editorial-page editor of the* Washington Times *and a media fellow at the Hoover Institution.*

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Town Square

NEWS FROM THE CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT

Groups To Watch

When Mom's an Ex-Con

Much is made of the ill effects of fatherlessness on children, but another risk factor has gone virtually unremarked: Children whose mothers abuse narcotics or have served time in prison experience significantly higher rates of crime, drug abuse, poverty, incarceration, and premature death later in life. Two doctors in Providence, Rhode Island, have stepped forward to try to break this particular "intergenerational cycle" of social pathologies with a mentoring and scholarship program they hope will be replicated elsewhere.

Rhode Islanders Sponsoring Education (RISE) selects disadvantaged youths whose mothers have been in jail or abused drugs and matches them with sponsors who commit to paying their tuition ($1,500 to $3,000 a year) for three to four years at a local approved private or parochial school. In addition, the sponsor mentors his or her charge. Twenty-five children, mostly black and almost all fatherless, have been chosen for the first cohort, which starts this fall. "Piecemeal intervention doesn't work," says cofounder Kevin Vigilante. With these kids, "we have to have major intervention early in life." RISE also plans to raise money for a long-term study of each participant's behavioral and academic outcomes over 16 years. "We're interested in seeing what works and what doesn't," says Vigilante, a former candidate for Congress from Rhode Island. "No study like this has ever been done."

☛ *For more information, contact the executive director of RISE—tel.: 401-421-2010.*

A New Approach to Delinquency

By focusing on the young thugs who are well on their way to becoming superpredators—the street "sharks"—America's juvenile-justice system frequently neglects the not-so-tough first-time offenders—the "minnows." Usually sentenced to probation, these minnows receive virtually no supervision and often conclude that crime has no consequences. They are thus very likely to become predatory "sharks" themselves.

A community-based program in Philadelphia known as the Youth Aid Panel (YAP) is trying to salvage these young delinquents by proving that crime does have consequences. Staffed entirely by volunteers from the inner city, YAP is essentially a pre-trial diversion program. A young offender can choose to avoid criminal prosecution by appearing before a YAP panel and pledging in writing to comply with its punishment. Punishments typically include a combination of public service, restitution, curfew, noncontact with the victim, counseling, and letters of apology.

Community-based volunteers frequently check offenders for compliance. (Noncompliance results in a trip to court). Many minnows welcome adult supervision and are genuinely changed by it. The overall recidivism rate among offenders who have appeared before YAP since 1987 is 20 percent—less than a third the national rate for young offenders.

☛ *"How Philadelphia Salvages Teen Criminals" by John J. Dilulio Jr. and Beth Z. Palubinsky,* City Journal, *Summer 1997.*

Welfare Reform in Maryland

As states work more often with private social-service organizations to reform welfare, one program in Maryland stands out. Known as C-DAP (Community-Directed Assistance Program), it links welfare recipients with support groups of church volunteers. Since its inception in 1994, 21 welfare recipients have enrolled in C-DAP and 14 have not returned to Maryland's welfare rolls.

C-DAP applies a team approach. Typically, one C-DAP member will help the welfare recipient find affordable day care, another will look for job openings, a third will provide transportation, and a fourth will offer budget counseling. This reduces volunteer burnout and increases the participant's network of contacts. C-DAP volunteers put in 400 to 500 hours with a single participant over a six-month period, compared to 39 hours per individual by a typical government case worker over a similar period.

Volunteers are willing to challenge

Jefferson Awards

With support from Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives alike, the American Institute for Public Service is now in its 25th year of honoring the unsung heroes whose volunteer work makes America a better place. Here are some of the winners of its annual **Jefferson Awards** presented at the Supreme Court in June:

Nancy Brinker, founder of the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation and the Race for the Cure, who has raised more than $65 million for research and treatment for this dread disease; **Oseola McCarty**, a maid and laundress who donated her life savings of $150,000 to scholarships at the University of Southern Mississippi; **Michael Danziger**, the president of the Steppingstone Foundation of Massachusetts, who promotes academic excellence among poor inner-city children and gives them scholarships to private schools; **Dawn Degenhardt**, who has adopted nine children of her own and created the Maine Adoption Placement Service; **Momma Hawk**, whose Recovering Gifted Child Foundation turns likely candidates for prison on Chicago's West Side into academic performers; **Vernard Gant**, executive director of the remarkable Cornerstone School in Birmingham, Alabama; and private investigator **Debra Peel** of Panama City, Florida, who volunteers her time to produce a weekly televised news segment, "Crime of the Week," that has helped identify the perpetrators of more than 170 crimes.

☛ *For more information, contact the American Institute for Public Service—tel.: 302-323-9659.*

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self-destructive behavior and encourage thrift, punctuality, and personal responsibility—something the old welfare system rarely did.

☞ *"Thy Neighbor's Keeper" by Amy L. Sherman,* Reason, *Aug.–Sept. 1997.*

What Works

Guide to Bilingual Education

As a parent with a Hispanic surname, Linda Chavez once had to fight to get her son, who spoke no foreign languages, out of bilingual-education classes at his local school. As the president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, she recently published a booklet to guide others through the bilingual-ed maze. An estimated 3 million public-school students in the United States can be classified as having a limited English proficiency (LEP). How quickly such students learn English in the classroom often depends on the prevailing bilingual-ed philosophy of their school district. In some areas, the bilingual-ed establishment tries to keep LEP students out of English-language classrooms and in native-language classes for five to seven years, out of an unproven belief that nonnative speakers will fall hopelessly behind in English-language classes. Also, some students might be misclassified LEP on the basis of faulty tests, biased surveys, or even the ethnicity of surnames.

Fortunately, residents in most states with large foreign-language populations are allowed to opt out of the bilingual-ed straitjacket, but many parents do not know their rights. For these parents, Chavez and CEO analyst Jorge Amselle have published a *Guide to Bilingual Education.* The guide answers basic questions in both English and Spanish about the pitfalls of bilingual education and describes bilingual-ed policy and parental rights in the 10 states with the most LEP students.

☞ *Center for Equal Opportunity—tel.: 202-639-0803, fax: 202-639-0827, parents' hotline: 800-819-2343, Web site: www.ceousa.org.*

Guide to Environmental Education

American public schools are increasingly enamored of environmental curricula that teach Johnny and Sally how to love the earth. Jane S. Shaw and Michael Sanera, free-market environmentalists, see nothing wrong with that—as long as teachers and textbooks get their facts right. Unfortunately, they have found, environmental curricula often contain more propaganda than truth, and seem to be intended to make schoolchildren feel guilty and fearful about the health of the planet. Their response: *Facts, Not Fear: A Parents' Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment.* The books slices through scientific misinformation about recycling, acid rain, ozone depletion, threats to the world's rainforests, and global warming among other topics.

Sample items: The United States has more standing timber now than it did in 1920, and the timber acreage is growing; air quality has dramatically improved in recent decades despite substantial economic growth; economic development subsidized by governments is actually more harmful to rainforests than American beef consumption. Shaw is an associate of the Political Economy Research Center, in Bozeman, Montana; Sanera is the director of the Center for Environmental Education Research, at the Claremont Institute.

Linda Chavez publishes parents' guide to bilingual education.

☞ Facts, Not Fear: A Parents' Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment *by Michael Sanera and Jane S. Shaw (Regnery).*

Cautionary Tales

Charity and Lawsuits

According to Senator Spencer Abraham, our current "litigation explosion" is severely harming America's non-profit organizations and charities. They are being forced to spend time and resources fighting costly, frivolous lawsuits, rendering them less effective in their good works.

Abraham proposes three reforms to curb frivolous lawsuits. First, conflict-of-law rules governing lawsuits between parties from different states should be revised to force the plaintiff to sue using the rules of the state in which the defending charity has the most volunteers. Under such a system, states that consistently decided in favor of the plaintiff (such as Alabama) would risk losing their economic benefits, as large nonprofits relocated to less plaintiff-friendly states. Second, the doctrine of "joint and several liability," under which a plaintiff can obtain full damages from a defendant only marginally at fault, should be scrapped, and liability limited to the proportion of fault. Finally, punitive damages should be capped at $250,000 or three times the amount of economic damages. This would bring relief to nonprofits by reducing the economic incentive to engage in frivolous lawsuits.

☞ *"Litigation's Stranglehold on Charities" by Spencer Abraham,* The Public Interest, *Spring 1997.*

A New Headache for Employers

Recent laws such as the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1991 have spawned a whole new legal field: "employment law," distinct from the earlier "labor law." Whereas labor law focused on collective bargaining and the conditions under which employers must recognize labor unions, employment law, writes Walter K. Olson, seeks to regulate "a wide range of personal interactions that includes job assignments, employee evaluations, benefit packages, and working conditions."

Unfortunately, much of the new law is vague and subject to broad interpretation. For example, employers are supposed to refrain from creating a "hostile" working environment, yet no one knows what this means in practice. A litigation explosion has ensued. In 1996 alone, the Americans with Disabilities Act generated 50,000 new filings of discrimination charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. An unintended consequence of employment law is that employers have grown reluctant to fire incompetent workers. The result is virtual tenure for the incompetent—"a choice," writes Olson, "that has profound implications for the future of business . . . and our collective mental health."

☞ The Excuse Factory: How Employment Law is Paralyzing the American Workplace *by Walter K. Olson (Free Press).*

Computers in the Classroom

President Clinton has called for a massive federal effort to make comput-

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ers "as much a part of the classroom as blackboards," and U.S. teachers seem to support him. In a recent poll, they ranked computer skills as more important than European history, biology, chemistry, and physics. Yet the case for the computerized classroom is seriously flawed.

It is widely argued, for example, that computers enhance student performance in a wide range of subjects. In fact, there is very little reliable evidence linking computers to greater student achievement. Similarly, it is claimed that computer literacy should be taught as early as possible. But while jobs increasingly require computer skills, adults can become computer-proficient very quickly.

While the benefits of computers are dubious, the costs are high. Because computers are so expensive, schools are cutting back in art, music, and physical education. Yet research suggests that these programs enrich children's lives far more than computers can. Moreover, in their headlong rush to computerize education, many schools are neglecting fundamentals, like reading, thinking, listening, and talking. By holding out the illusion of a technological "quick-fix" to our educational problems, computers may well be an obstacle to genuine educational reform.

☛ *"The Computer Delusion" by Todd Oppenheimer,* Atlantic Monthly, *July 1997.*

Thoughts on Civil Society

Families Under Fire

Parents are under increasing assault, writes Dana Mack, from a "family-hating" culture that believes "experts," rather than parents, know how best to rear children. This culture seeks to transfer power from parents to a government-supported professional elite. Parents she interviewed were especially critical of child welfare authorities who recklessly intervene in family affairs; of judges who handle divorce, custody, and adoption disputes in ways that harm parents and children alike; of schools whose "life-skills" courses challenge parental values; and of the media, which sexualizes even young children. Along with economic pressures on women to work and a growing tax burden, these trends threaten the American family's survival.

To remedy this situation, Mack proposes seven pro-family initiatives:

- Tax relief with significant exemptions for parents with dependent children;
- More generous family leave policies;
- Tougher decency standards for the media;
- Empowering parents through school choice;
- Tightened legal definitions of child abuse and neglect to protect families against harassment by Child Protective Services;
- Passage of a Parental Rights Amendment to the Constitution upholding parental authority;
- Empowering grassroots community institutions, not government, to tackle such problems as teen pregnancy, neighborhood safety, and character development.

☛ The Assault on Parenthood: How Our Culture Undermines the Family *by Dana Mack (Simon & Schuster).*

Marriage, Myself, and I

In the past 30 years, Americans have come to think about the family in a radically new way, claims writer Barbara Dafoe Whitehead. Americans used to differentiate sharply between the marketplace and the family, regarding the former as the realm for pursuing individual interests, the latter defined by duty and self-sacrifice. Starting in the mid-1960s, however, Americans began to view family life through the prism of self-interest. "Broadly described," writes Whitehead, "this change was away from an ethic of obligation to others and toward an obligation to self."

This change in attitude has given rise to "expressive divorce"—the view that the dissolution of a marriage is not a tragedy that undermines the social order, but an entitlement that offers individuals the chance to remake themselves and live more emotionally satisfying lives. And if divorce makes one or both parents happier, it should also enhance their children's well-being.

Recently, however, there has been a growing recognition of the highly damaging effects of divorce, especially on children. "If we do not act with deliberate speed to reduce divorces involving children," Whitehead concludes, "we will surely become a nation with a diminished capacity to sponsor the next generation into successful lives as citizens, workers and family members."

☛ The Divorce Culture *by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead (Knopf).*

Jesters in Robes

For years, Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin publicized egregious examples of government waste with his annual "Golden Fleece" awards. In that spirit, the Family Research Council inaugurated in June the first annual "Court Jester" awards for questionable judging. And the winners are:

The Out of Order Award, "for a decision in which a judge finds citizens incompetent to manage their local affairs, opting to manage them himself." Winner: **Russell Clark**, a federal trial judge in Missouri who, in an effort to achieve racial diversity in Kansas City public schools, imposed $1.7 billion in tax increases to pay for lavish facilities and programs.

The "Overruled!" Award, "for a decision in which a judge makes a mockery of democracy." Winner: **Thelton Henderson**, a federal trial judge in California who blocked the implementation of the California Civil Rights Initiative last fall on the grounds that banning racial preferences was itself discriminatory.

The See-No-Evil Award, "for a decision in which a judge turns a blind eye to crime—insisting that criminals are victims of society." Winner: **Rosemary Barkett**, of the Florida Supreme Court and the 11th Circuit, for numerous rulings opposing the death penalty and favoring defendant's rights.

The Invisible Ink Award, "for a decision in which a judge sees invisible words in the Constitution, but can't see the words that are really there." Winner: federal judge **Steven Reinhardt** of the Ninth Circuit, for finding that individuals have a constitutional right to ask for a physician's help to commit suicide.

The Lifetime Achievement Award, "to a judge whose career on the bench provides example upon example of decisions meriting the above awards." Winner: Justice **Anthony Kennedy** of the Supreme Court.

☛ *For more information about the Court Jester Awards, contact Family Research Council—tel.: 202-393-2100, fax: 202-393-2134.*

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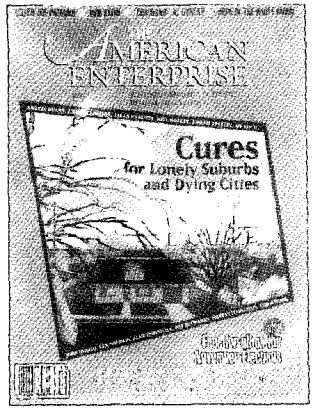

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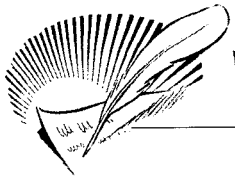

We Hold These Truths

The Court Rediscovers Federalism

In 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court abandoned any genuine effort to restrain the federal government from usurping constitutional powers reserved to the states. In his dissenting opinion for *Garcia v. San Antonio Municipal Transit Authority*, however, Justice William Rehnquist confidently predicted that federalism would "in time again command the support of a majority of this Court." Twelve years later, the revival of federalism has become the clearest legacy of the Rehnquist Court.

In *U.S. v. Lopez* (1995), for example, Rehnquist, now the chief justice, reminded Congress that it cannot rely upon its constitutional power to regulate "interstate commerce" to ban the mere possession of a gun in a school zone, unless it can clearly show that such conduct somehow involves "commercial channels, instrumentalities, or interstate economic activity." This was the first such notice of restraint in more than 60 years. Last year, Rehnquist and his colleagues again shielded the sovereignty of the 50 states by deciding that Congress cannot use its commerce power to subject states to lawsuits in federal court (*Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida*). These decisions, however, were merely a prelude.

The Comeback

In the Supreme Court term that ended in June, the justices resolved a number of prominent cases involving privacy rights, religious freedom, and other vital constitutional issues. Landmark decisions in their own right, they collectively revive federalist principles across a range of areas:

Law enforcement. By a 5-4 vote, the Court struck down Congress's attempt, under the federal Brady Gun Control Act, to force local law-enforcement officials to conduct background checks on individuals seeking gun licenses. This provision of the Brady Act was the ultimate unfunded mandate. Under the law, local sheriffs were pulled away from their assigned state and local duties in order to perform the required background checks. Congress asserted that it could force state and local officeholders to assume this federal function under the Supremacy Clause of the Constitution.

Not so fast, said the Court. Writing for the majority in *Printz v. United States*, Justice Antonin Scalia observed, "Our constitutional system of dual sovereignty is fundamentally incompatible with conscripting state and local officials to carry out federal programs." The Supremacy Clause merely requires state and local governments to comply with federal laws that are consistent with the Constitution, and so it "merely brings us back to the question" of whether laws conscripting state officials violate the Tenth Amendment.

The clearest legacy of the Supreme Court's Rehnquist Era is the revival of federalist principles.

To answer that question, Scalia relied upon a careful examination of "the historical understanding and practice" of federal–state relations. Although the federal government argued that the earliest Congresses had required the participation of state officials in the implementation of federal laws, a closer look demonstrated an "utter lack of statutes imposing [such] obligations." When the federal government fell back on Alexander Hamilton's more general observation in *The Federalist Papers* that "the [national] government [might] employ the ordinary magistracy of each [state] in the execution of its laws," Scalia aptly responded that the federal litigants missed Hamilton's critical assumption: The state had to give its consent.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor had laid the groundwork for the *Printz* decision back in 1992 in *New York v. United States*. Relying on a meticulous review of constitutional history, her majority opinion held that Congress lacked the power to require states either to legislate on or take title to certain radioactive waste. "States are not mere political subdivisions of the United States," wrote Justice O'Connor. "State governments are neither regional offices nor administrative agencies of the United States. . . . Whatever the outer limits of [state] sovereignty may be, one thing is clear: The Federal Government may not compel the states to enact or administer a federal regulatory program."

Interestingly, Justice Clarence Thomas wrote a concurring opinion in *Printz* to remind the Court of the need to "temper" federal power in certain respects beyond shielding state officials from unlawfully imposed duties. Thomas emphasized that the federal government exercises enumerated, and hence limited, powers, and he underscored his point by citing *Marbury v. Madison*'s caution "that [so] those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written."

Religious freedom. Congress apparently forgot these very limits when it vastly overextended its power under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). Passed by Congress and signed into law in 1993 by President Clinton, RFRA was aimed at reversing a 1990 decision written by Scalia holding that religious believers had to obey local, state, and federal laws generally applicable to all citizens, even if they had the unintended effect of burdening religious exercise. Congress mistakenly interpreted its enforcement power under the Fourteenth Amendment as license to substitute its own standard of

by Douglas W. Kmiec

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constitutional protection for religion in place of the Court's.

The Court's 6-3 vote to strike down RFRA was controversial, but the justices really had no choice. A statute that assumes Congress can define what does and does not count as protected religious exercise is a threat both to the Constitution's text and, ultimately, to religious freedom itself. Writing for the majority in the RFRA opinion (*Flores v. City of Boerne, Texas*), Justice Anthony Kennedy reminded Congress of the basics: "Congress does not enforce a constitutional right by changing what the right is." Otherwise the Constitution would have no greater permanence or stature than ordinary legislation.

Although the *Boerne* decision was widely noted for restoring the proper balance of constitutional authority between the legislative and judicial branches, the Court's holding is also firmly grounded in the need to avoid the "considerable congressional intrusion into the states' traditional prerogatives and general authority to regulate the health and welfare of their citizens." Had the Court sustained the law's broad assertion of Congress's Fourteenth Amendment enforcement authority, it would have seriously upset the balance of federal–state power. The 1866 Congress that drafted the Fourteenth Amendment expressly rejected an early version of the amendment akin to RFRA's position, Kennedy noted, because it would have been "an utter departure from every principle ever dreamed of by the men who framed our Constitution."

Without the asserted federal power to legislate grandly upon "life, liberty, and property," religious freedom is hardly in jeopardy of state oppression. In *Boerne*, the Court recognized that Americans' religious freedom depends less on broadly worded statutes than on specific, well-recognized constitutional limits on government power. Church and state can be separate only when government does not expand to occupy the entire terrain of daily life. With or without RFRA, all laws that clearly disfavor religion without compelling justification already violate the First Amendment. And whenever state and local governments attempt to stifle or punish religious exercise covertly under laws that appear to apply generally, the Court's decision invites Congress to create remedies proportionate to such constitutional violations as they arise.

Assisted suicide. At their core, the recent cases regarding assisted suicide (*Washington v. Glucksberg* and *Vacco v. Quill*) are federalism cases as well. Advocates for the terminally ill had maintained that their clients' fundamental rights were violated by state laws in New York and Washington that banned doctors from helping patients kill themselves. In order to find this putative right, wrote Rehnquist, the Court "would have [had] to reverse centuries of legal doctrine and practice, and strike down the considered policy choice of almost every state." This the Court wisely and unanimously chose not to do. A practice disapproved by Anglo-American common law for more than 700 years was not a good candidate for being treated as a "fundamental right" deeply rooted in the traditions and history of the nation.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist

Unfortunately, four of the nine justices couldn't resist writing that in some future case they might find a more limited right for particular patients—depending perhaps on the degree of their pain or on some amorphous concept of dignity. These concurring justices could not articulate what they were talking about, except to warn that if any state attempted to ban the administration of painkillers, the Court would "revisit its conclusion." Presumably, pro-pain state legislatures are now on notice.

Despite these unfortunate concurrences, the assisted-suicide cases are models of judicial restraint when compared with the Court's abortion decisions of the last 24 years. The assisted-suicide advocates had based their claims on the same "privacy rights" that the Court, in *Roe v. Wade*, had discovered imbedded in the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In rejecting these arguments, the Court could distinguish assisted suicide from abortion only by saying that even personal autonomy has its limits.

The Framers knew this and expressed it in relation to even the highly cherished liberties of speech and religion, by qualifying such freedoms with provisos not to "demean oneself" or to conduct oneself in other than a "peaceable and orderly manner." These qualifiers preserve liberty from being degraded into mere license and, in so doing, remind us that liberty exists as a means to each person's proper end or purpose. No Framer understood self-destruction as a necessary means to the "pursuit of happiness."

The Explanation

What explains the Court's rediscovery of federalism? It surely results from efforts to re-anchor constitutional interpretation in the original meaning of the document. Antonin Scalia has led this drive. In a recent book, *A Matter of Interpretation*, he regrets that "the ascendant school of constitutional interpretation" is that of the "Living Constitution," a "'morphing' document that means, from age to age, what it ought to mean" in the minds of judges. This, Scalia predicts, will not long go unnoticed by the people. If the Constitution's interpretation no longer depends upon "a close examination of the text, history of the text, traditional understanding of the text," then the people "will look for qualifications other than impartiality, judgment, and lawyerly acumen in those whom they select to interpret it. More specifically, they will look for judges who agree with them."

This, predicts Scalia, will be the end of the Bill of Rights. Indeed, it would signal the end of the rule of law. Perhaps because of these dire consequences, liberal and conservative justices alike gave greater weight this term to originalism.

Given the limitations of human intellect, this did not always lead to unanimity. That is to be expected. As Scalia explains, "[t]here is plenty of room for disagreement . . . as to how original meaning applies to [any] situation before the court." My own originalist examination of our historical roots, for

Illustration by Kathryn Vierra

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example, suggests that Scalia himself may underestimate the relevance of the Founders' belief in natural law—the "unalienable rights" that lie beyond the authority of any law, constitution, or government. In *Printz*, Justice John Paul Stevens argued that the Court's majority paid inadequate attention to the intentions of the Framers as expressed in the *Federalist*. Justices may reach different conclusions, but as Scalia writes, "the originalist at least knows what he is looking for."

The principle of federalism has come once again to "command the respect of a majority of the Court," as Rehnquist predicted, because the Court this term chose to credit the Constitution as it was written. Until now, in the area of federalism, the Court was not so much interpreting constitutional text and history as it was citing its own precedent—that is, talking to and within itself.

The Work Ahead

Much remains to be done in righting the imbalance in federal and state powers. For example, despite the Court's holding in *Lopez* that Congress does face theoretical limits on the power it claims in the name of interstate commerce, the lower courts are still struggling to read the Court's mind. The majority opinion in *Lopez* cites, but neither explains nor overrules, the many prior cases that tolerate sweeping exercises of federal authority.

In his *Printz* opinion, Thomas reminds the Court of its promise in *Lopez* to better "root the [Commerce] Clause [in its] original understanding." For that to be done—no small task given the breadth of federal regulation based on the Commerce Clause—the Court will need to stop treating "economic activity" and "commerce" as synonymous. Certainly private and personal acts—even marriage and divorce—have interdependent and external economic effects. However, to accept that postulate as a proper constitutional basis for federal regulation is to render impossible the very design of a limited federal government. Is there a Rehnquist-led majority for restoring the Founders' interpretation of commerce as the actual exchange of goods and services?

The Court ought to address as well the erosion of states' authority resulting from the federal government's unfettered power to spend. Before the New Deal era, Congress's authority to spend money was restricted to those purposes enumerated in Article I of the Constitution. In a thinly reasoned opinion of the late 1930s, however, the Court assented to congressional spending for any purpose Congress deemed necessary to "promote the general welfare" of the nation. Many early presidents, including Madison, objected strenuously to such unchecked spending.

Although it may be too late to renew Madison's particular objection, it is conceivable that the Court may someday re-examine the extent to which the federal government may condition aid to states on the "voluntary" adoption of certain federal policies. One case already on the Court's docket for next term, *U.S. v. Salinas*, may give the Court a chance to limit such conditions that have the effect of expanding the criminal jurisdiction of the federal government well beyond its interstate authority.

Can we count on the originalist—and federalist—trend of the past term to continue? Perhaps, although much of the federalism revival is still based on precarious 5-4 majorities. Justice David Souter, in a concurring opinion in one of the assisted-suicide cases, outlined a theory of "substantive due process" that might lead the Court astray once again. Souter makes no pretense of grounding his interpretive method in constitutional text or history. He invites his brethren instead to speculate whether the democratic choices of state governments amount to "arbitrary impositions" or "purposeless restraints."

This is not the present way of the Rehnquist Court, nor can it be if federalism's revival is to continue. In the patient and pragmatic words of the Chief Justice, "the outlines of the 'liberty' specially protected by the Fourteenth Amendment—never fully clarified, to be sure, and perhaps not capable of being fully clarified—have at least been carefully refined by concrete examples involving fundamental rights found to be deeply rooted in our legal tradition."

"This approach," wrote the Chief Justice, is one that "tends to rein in the subjective elements that are necessarily present in due-process judicial review." It is also the only approach consistent with any meaningful respect for the Tenth Amendment's reservation of all unenumerated powers "to the States... or to the people."

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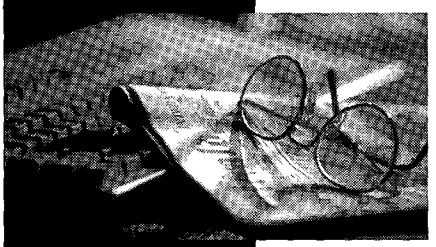

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Profiles in Citizenship

Alabama's Self-Help Savior

"Education is the source of all we have and the spring of all our future joys," William J. Edwards once wrote. "Our religion, our morality, and that which is highest and best in our social and civic life, all come from education. Therefore, it is the primary factor in the elevation of all races."

On New Year's Day 1889, at the age of 20, this son of former slaves arrived at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama to begin a lifelong pursuit of moral and material improvement of the rural South. Under the leadership of its president and founder Booker T. Washington, the Tuskegee Institute was dedicated to providing black tenant farmers with a solid foundation in basic education and the practical skills they needed to work in agriculture and industry. Following his mentor, Edwards founded the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute in Wilcox County, Alabama, and devoted his life to helping people in his local community lift themselves out of poverty.

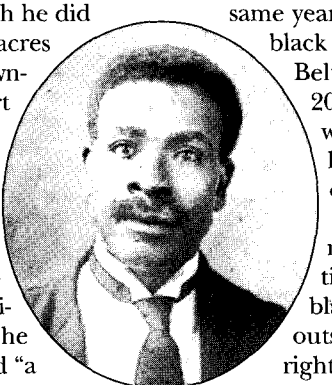
Edwards was born on September 12, 1869, and raised by his paternal grandmother and an aunt, who saw him through a debilitating childhood illness. After years of picking cotton and sharecropping, he paid off his own medical bills and made his way to Tuskegee. When he arrived, Edwards was unfamiliar with the use of a toothbrush or a knife and fork, yet he qualified for second-year classes in all subjects except grammar. He worked on the Institute's farm and listened each Sunday evening to Washington exhort his students to go back and uplift their home communities.

by Lenore T. Ealy

Lenore T. Ealy is the director of program development for the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation, in Indianapolis, Indiana.

After graduating from Tuskegee in 1893, Edwards decided that his native region needed a school. The Alabama Black Belt counties were home to more than 200,000 blacks, of whom more than 40 percent were of school age, but only one local school accepted blacks, and that one was private. In the fall of 1893, he opened the Snow Hill Institute in a one-room log cabin with three students.

Edwards received no state appropriation for his school, though he did accept a gift of seven acres from a local white landowner. He had offers of support from several local churches, but turned them down because he was determined to keep his school free of "isms" and "thoroughly religious in its spirit, but entirely undenominational." In his memoir he wrote that the area needed "a school that would endeavor to make education practical rather than theoretical; a school that would train men and women to be good workers, good leaders, good husbands, good wives, and finally train them to be fit citizens of the State and proper subjects for the Kingdom of God."



School founder William T. Edwards

Edwards was especially concerned about the failure of blacks to become property owners. When Edwards started Snow Hill, blacks owned a total of just 20 acres of land in the area. Most were tenant farmers who leased their lands and then borrowed against their crops to purchase seed and equipment. If their crops failed or they managed their funds poorly, families sank further into debt to purchase provisions for the winter, and the cycle began again in the spring.

So Edwards also formed the Black-Belt Improvement Society for "the general uplift of the people of the Black Belt of Alabama; to make them better morally, mentally, spiritually, and financially." Open to "anyone of good moral standing desiring to better his condition," the society established cooperatives for purchasing supplies and foodstuffs that could not be grown at home; encouraged residents to practice thrift and to purchase and improve their own homes; disseminated information on farming, soil conservation, and the diversification of crops; and hosted discussions "relating to the general welfare of the race." To advance from the first level of membership, one had to own a little property (three chickens and a pig); one achieved higher levels of status by acquiring more property.

By 1918, Snow Hill Institute owned 1,940 acres of land and 24 buildings and enrolled between 300 and 400 students each year. Graduates of the school began to establish similar enterprises throughout the South. That same year, Edwards reported that black landowners in the Black Belt area held more than 20,000 acres and that they were constructing better homes, schools, and churches.

In 1901, when the new Alabama constitution disenfranchised blacks, Edwards became an outspoken leader on civil rights. Blacks needed to educate a cadre of community leaders, he believed, and so he bolstered Snow Hill's academic curriculum to provide that training. Ironically, this move led to the demise of Snow Hill. Northern philanthropists, the largest source of funds for Snow Hill, wanted to focus exclusively on industrial education and pushed the state government to assume full financial responsibility for the school. Edwards was eventually forced out, academic courses were cut back, and the school was sold to Alabama.

The state continued its administration of Snow Hill until 1973, when desegregation orders forced the school to close and its students to attend other public schools in the area. Edwards's legacy nevertheless continues. In 1979, one of his granddaughters, a 1944 graduate of the Snow Hill Institute, returned to establish the Springtree-Snow Hill Institute for the Performing Arts, which offers local students after-school and summer programs in drama, music, and dance.

Photo courtesy of the Springtree–Snow Hill Institute for the Performing Arts

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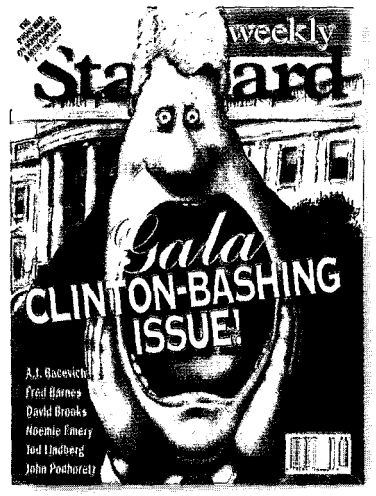

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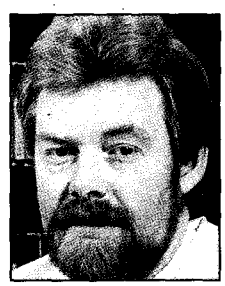

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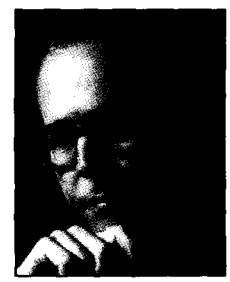

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